



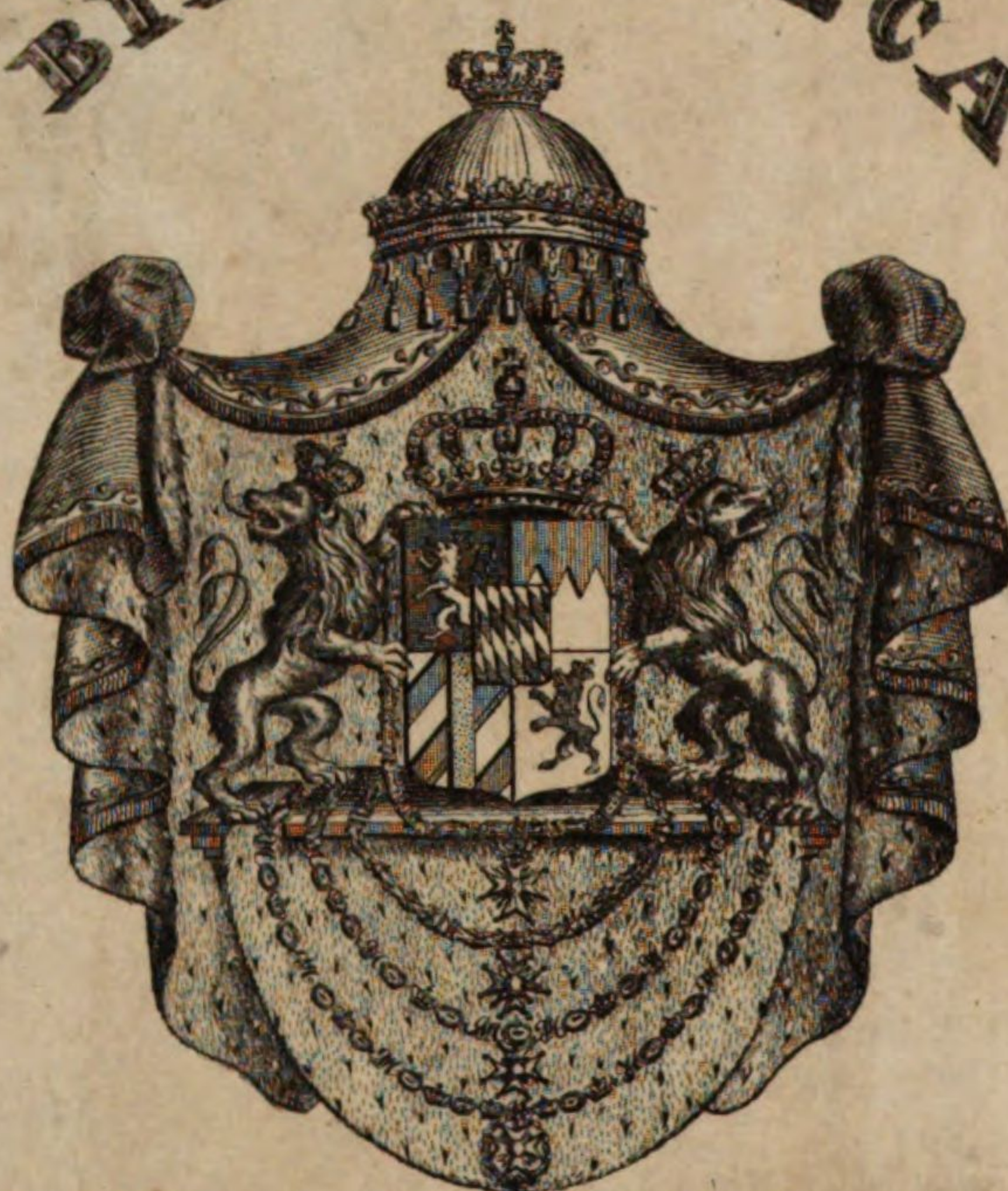
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REGIA
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ORIGINES ANGLICANÆ:
O R, A
HISTORY
O F T H E
English Church.

Beginning where
Bishop *STILLINGFLEET*

Has ended his
History of the *British* Church.

And Containing
An Account of the Affairs thereof, from the first
planting of the Christian Religion amongst the
English Saxons, till the *Norman Conquest*.

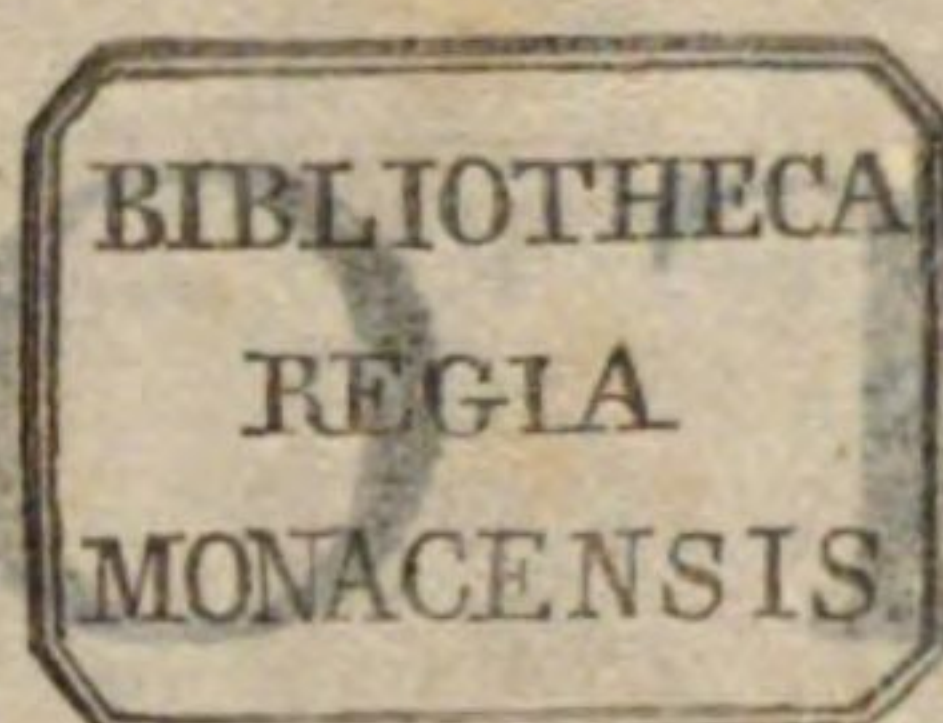
By **JOHN INETT**, D.D. Chanter and Residentiary
of the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*, and Chaplain in
Ordinary to Her Majesty.

L O N D O N,

Printed by **T. H** for **M. Wotton** at the *Three Daggers* near
the *Inner-Temple-Gate* in *Fleetstreet*. **1704.**

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O. R. A.



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By JOHN WELT, D.D. Chancellor and Rector
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Ordinary to Her Majesty.

L O N D O N.

Printed by T. H. for M. Wotton at the Three Daggers near
the Inner-Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet. 1704.

TO THE
QUEEN.

MADAM,

Having endeavoured to Rescue the History of the Antient English Church, from the Errors and Mistakes occasioned by the Ignorance or Superstition of some, and the unworthy Attempts of others to give a Wrong turn to it: And so far as my Circumstances, and the distance of Time would permit me to set it in a true Light: I think it a part of my Duty to lay this Work at Your Majesty's Feet. And therein to offer to Your Royal View the Piety and Munificence of Your Ancestors, in the Founding and Endowment of that Church, which, after a long course of Time, and many Changes now happily flourishes under Your Majesty's Government.

Your Majesty's known Piety and Zeal for Our Holy Religion, and the Church of England, as it is now Reform'd from the Errors of Popery, give me ground to hope, that You will be pleased to receive a Work into your Protection, which had its beginning from a
sincere

Epistle Dedicatory.

sincere desire to do it service, by shewing that the Doctrines most earnestly contended for, by those in Communion with the Church of Rome, were no part of the receiv'd Doctrine of the Antient English Church.

I shall presume no further on Your Majesty's Time and Goodness, but to beseech Almighty God, who hath rais'd Your Majesty to the Throne of Your Ancestors, that He would long continue Your Majesty a Blessing to this Church and Nation; and that He would be pleased, in his own good time, to consummate the Blessings these Nations enjoy under Your Majesty's happy Government, by giving Your Majesty the satisfaction to see all Your People live in Peace and Unity, and become better by Your Majesty's Encouragement and Example. Which is the Prayer of,

M A D A M,

Y O U R M A J E S T Y ' S

Most Obedient and

Dutiful Subject

and Chaplain,

J O H N I N E T T .

i

TO THE
READER.

THough it may be said with Modesty, that the whole Reformation stands indebted to the Church of *England* for the great and successful Services done by those of her Communion, in the defence of our common Faith; yet it cannot be denied, that the History and Antiquities of the *English* Church, have not been so carefully look'd into since the Reformation, as the Defence and Honour of our Holy Mother seem to have required from us.

In the mean time, the Enemies of our Holy Religion, unable to stand the Reasonings of those who have made it their business to defend it, take Sanctuary in our Antiquities; and no Industry hath been wanting to mislead our Story, and force our Fathers to rise up against their Children.

Polidore Virgil lived, and wrote his History in the beginning of the Reformation; but, besides his retiring out of *England* so soon as the Reformation was established, he hath left us other Reasons enough to believe he was an Enemy to it. As for the History of *Harpsfield*, it was wrote presently after the Reformation; and, in all appearance, with a design, if not to over-turn it, yet at least to sully and reproach it, and disparage the change it introduc'd, and which he himself had suffer'd under. And the Spirit and Character of the Man, and the Air and Turn of his Discourse, put it beyond a doubt, that this was the Design of Father *Parsons*, in his History of the three Conversions.

And what *Baronius* hath published, relating to the Affairs of the *English* Church, is so visibly turned to serve the Interest and Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, that the greatest Admirers of that Learned and Useful Work do not pretend to deny it.

And one who but casts his Eyes on the Annotations of some of those Learned Foreigners, by whom the
a World

World hath been obliged, for several Editions of the Councils, cannot but be sensible, that some of their Notes on the *English* Councils seem purposely designed to give that part of our History such a turn as may best fit it to the present Usages and Opinions of the *Romish* Church.

As for the later Writers of our Story, those in Communion with the Church of *Rome* are so far from disavowing their Partiality, that Mr. *Cressley*, and the Writer of the *Saxon Annals*, Mr. *Alsford*, seem to value themselves for their unworthy treatment of the Reformed Church of *England*, and appear rather to have laboured the defence of the Church of *Rome*, than to give a just History of the ancient *English* Church.

But whilst the Enemies to the Church and Religion of *England* have been thus active to give a wrong turn to our History, a great deal has been done to prevent their Designs; for if those late Learned Writers are not too forward, who, contrary to the general Opinion of the Age in which that Work was published, will not allow Archbishop *Parker* to be the Author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*; yet it cannot be denied that Posterity is exceedingly indebted to that Learned and Worthy Prelate, for rescuing so many Noble Monuments of the *English* Antiquities, from the Fate of the Monasteries from whence they were taken; for publishing some of them and preserving more; and by his Favour and Authority giving all encouragement to the Study of our History and Antiquities.

And the Generosity of those Learned Men Sir *Henry Saville*, Sir *Robert Cotton*, Sir *Roger Twisden*, Mr. *Cambden*, Mr. *Selden*, and Mr. *Wheelock*, the late Learned Dean of *York*, Dr. *Gale*, and Mr. *Wharton*, by whose Charge or Labours great numbers of our Historians have been communicated to the World ought never to be forgotten.

But besides the Histories which have been printed, those which yet remain in Manuscript, and are to be found in the Collections owing to Archbishop *Parker* and the *Cotton* Family, are a Treasure the Nation has reason to boast of; and from these Noble Treasuries a deal has been done towards our Church-History, by Mr. *Fox*, the Learned Collector of the *British* Councils, that
Learned

Learned and Indefatigable Prelate Archbishop *Usher* and Mr. *Fuller* ; yet still we are so far from a just History of the *English* Church, that Mr. *Wharton*, in his Preface to the first Volume of the *Anglia Sacra*, doth not only lament our unhappiness herein, but spent his Fortune, and, to the publick loss, too soon lavished out his Life, to oblige his Country with Materials for our Ecclesiastical History ; and declares this to be the great design of those useful Volumes, which, with infinite Labour he rescued from the Moths and Dust.

And the late Learned Prelate, Bishop *Stillingfleet*, an Honour to our Nation, and it may be one of the best Judges of things of this kind that any Nation ever produced, was so sensible of the necessity of such an undertaking, that he thought it a Task worthy of his own Time and Pains ; and in his *Origines Britannicæ*, not only obliged the World with the History and Antiquities of the *British* Church, but in his Preface to that Work, gave us hopes of receiving the History of the *English Saxon* Church from the same Hand ; and had he lived to perform it, a Work of that kind from his Hand, would not only have deliver'd me from a drudgery that is not to be told with Modesty ; but have left it past a doubt, what great Services might have been done to the Church and Religion of *England*, by setting our History in a true Light.

For these Reasons one may be allowed to say, that a continuation of our Ecclesiastick History, begun where the Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* has left it, can never want acceptance, but where the Faults of the Writer render such a performance unworthy thereof. How far this Undertaking may deserve such censure, I must leave others to judge, and turn to give the Reader a short view of the Work it self.

And here, that he may not be deceived, I must not omit to say, that Things rather than Persons have been the subject of my care ; and therefore I must own, that I have not been so careful as others have been, in conveying down the Names and Successions of the *English* Prelates : Not that I look upon it as a part of History unworthy the care of the best Historian, but because this hath been the chief Subject of almost all those Writers, to whom we are indebted for the Histories of those
Ages,

Ages, which come within the compass of the present Undertaking. Besides, the late Learned Publisher of the *Anglia Sacra*, in his accurate Notes on the Histories which he hath Published, hath taken great pains in rectifying the Mistakes of our former Historians, and settling the Successions of the *English* Bishops: For these reasons I did not think it fit to swell this Performance, and perplex the Reader by such frequent Breaches in the Series of our Story, as this Particular would have requir'd, farther than is necessary to ascertain the order of Time, and give a just turn and light to things.

I have also purposely omitted the relation of those things which pass for Miracles with some Men, and take up so much room in most of our Histories, especially in that of Mr. *Cressy*; which I have declined, partly, that I might not presume too far on the Faith and Candour of the Reader, by seeming to intitle GOD to things which upon a just view appear more like the Artifices or Inventions of Men, or at best their Errors and Mistakes, than the efforts of the Divine Power, and which seem much better fitted to serve the Interests of Vanity or Superstition, than to comport with the Wisdom and Glory of GOD; and, partly, that I might not make other Men uneasy, by frequent reflections on things which have a great share in their Faith and Veneration.

Tho' I have endeavour'd to give some Account of the ancient *English* Monasteries, and of the Interests and Conduct of the Monasticks, yet I have purposely declined entring into the late Controversies so warmly managed by the Religious, not only because I had no time to loose in such a Cause; but because it is evident, that the Monasticks made a great figure in all the Western Nations, before the *Benedictine* Rule was received: Besides, the best of our earliest Writers give us no Marks by which to distinguish or ascertain the Rules and Orders of the first *English* Monasteries. And after the Rule of St. *Benedict* was brought into *England* by *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*, the Account that *Bede*, in his Epistle to *Egbert*, Bishop of *York*, gives of the Monasteries of *England* in the Eighth Century, shews, that at that time the *English* Monasteries were neither govern'd by the Rule of St. *Basil* or St. *Benedict*; and if there
was

was any Rule more general and prevailing in the *British*, *Scotish*, and first *English* Monasteries ; that of *St. Martin*, Bishop of *Tours*, seems to have the fairest pretence : But for the most part the Wills of their Founders were the Rules by which they were governed ; and these are so generally lost or swallowed up in the received Rules of the later Ages, that we have not light enough to restore them to their true Authors, or make a just Judgment of them.

Besides these Considerations which occasion so much uncertainty and confusion in the Accounts we have of those Institutions, and leave room enough for the endless Disputes of those who have leisure to contend for the Antiquity and Honour of their several Rules and Orders ; the Accounts we have thereof from the *Monasticon*, and our own later Historians at home, and such as have been published by the *Benedictines* abroad, render it wholly needless to spend time upon a Subject which has already had so much labour bestowed upon it.

In these Omissions I have considered the Reader more than my self ; for when the Successions of Kings and Bishops, the Miracles ascrib'd to Saints and their Reliques, the Founding and Endowment of Religious Houses, the unusual *Phænomena* of the Heavens, the uncommon Seasons of the Year, Famines and Mortalities are all left out ; what remains in the best Accounts we have of those Ages, is so thin and meagre a Story, and that too so broken and interrupted, that the Writing of our Story looks like the Task of the *Israelites* in making Bricks without Straw ; for the Materials are few and scattered ; and as it is hard to find them, so it is harder to put them into order.

The Learned and Eloquent Writer of the Introduction to the History of *England*, carries this Reflection a great deal farther ; and does not stick to say in his Preface to that useful Work, *That our Story hath been written by such mean and vulgar Authors, so tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections, so injudicious in the choice of what's fit to be told or to be let alone, with so little Order, and in so wretched a Stile, that as it is a shame to be ignorant in the Affairs of our own Country, so it is hardly worth the Time and Pains to be informed.*

But on the Writers of those Ages which are the subject of the following History, he bestows greater degrees of Contempt, and saith, *They are few and mean, their Accounts are poorly given us, with little order or agreement of Times or Actions*: And seems so much to doubt, whether the Ages deserved better Writers, that he not only bestows upon them the Character of barbarous and illiterate, but saith, *Perhaps the rough course of those lawless Times and Actions would have been too ignoble a subject for a good Historian*. And to give life and relish to a dead and tasteless Story, and put uncertainty and confusion into order, are difficulties so hardly to be surmounted, especially at this distance of time, that if the established Reputation of this Learned and Ingenuous Author be ground enough to rely on, the Character he gives of the foresaid Historians, and of the subjects of their Story, a very indifferent Account of the darker parts of our Ecclesiastical History will need no excuse; for this Age will not bear a Legend, and if History and not Fiction be expected, there is no remedy but we must take up with such imperfect Notices as our Records and Histories afford.

Nor are those observed by the foresaid Writers the only disadvantages our Story labours under; for Ignorance and Superstition, not to say design, have occasioned such unhappy mixtures of Truth and Falshood, that there is scarce any part of our Ecclesiastical History but what comes to us so intermixt with Fables, and loaded with Vanity and Trifles, that it is no little difficulty to distinguish the one from the other; and whilst one rescues Truth, to set such Marks upon the Error as shall at once justify the Historian in the choice of the one, and satisfy the Reader in his reasons for rejecting the other. Besides, a great part of our Story hath industriously been set in a wrong Light by some Great Men, who have devoted themselves to the Service of the Court of Rome, and have left nothing unattempted to bring Antiquity to justify the Errors of that Church, or serve the Pretensions of that Court; and that part of our Story, which comes to us in the best manner, has the air and dress of the Ages in which it was wrote, and a turn suited to the Notions that a wild and boundless Superstition do commonly produce; and these Reasons

sons will put the Writer of our History under a necessity of frequent Digressions, which to some Readers may appear tedious, and besides the purpose; and yet it is impossible to do right to our History, without discharging it from those Legends and Tales which are thrust into it, and rectifying those Mistakes which are owing to the Sentiments or Views of the Writers, or the prevailing Usages and Opinions of the Ages in which they wrote.

Under these mighty disadvantages, to say nothing of those which my Duty and particular Obligations laid in my way, I have endeavoured both to rescue Truth from Falshood, and to deliver down the great and useful parts of our Ecclesiastick History, discharged from Legends, and Fables, and Design, and so far as the Records and Memoirs we have remaining, and the opportunities I have had, would permit me to set the upper-part of the History of the Church of *England* in its true Light; and, in particular, to give an Account of the time and manner of planting the Christian Religion amongst the *English Saxons*, and the Interests the Clergy from *Rome*, and the *Scots* from *Ireland* had in those Conversions; to shew the difference betwixt the Churches of the *Romish* and *Scottish* Establishment, the Time, the Ground, and Reason of their uniting, and the Consequences thereof; to shew the Changes and Alterations in the Doctrine and Discipline of the ancient *English*; to give the Reader a just Idea of their prevailing Usages and Opinions, and mark out the Steps by which Superstition and Corruption broke in, and advanced in the *English* Church; to shew the sense the ancient *English* Church had of its own Rights and Authority, what measures of deference they paid to the Bishops of *Rome*, and what part those Prelates bore in the Affairs of the *English* Church; and in short, to give an Account (and so far as the Light we have would enable one) in due order of Time, of all those Affairs wherein the Doctrine, and and Discipline, and Government of the Churches of *England* were concerned.

And where the barrenness of our own Story hath called me abroad, or where the intermixture of Truth and Falshood, or giving some light to the Rights and Usages of the Church have led me into digressions, I have

have endeavoured to take in such Notices only, as by giving us a view of the Ages and Opinions, give some light to our own History, and then only entertained the Reader with Reflections on the ancient Rights, Usages, and Discipline of the Church, and dark Passages of our Story, when I thought them necessary to give him a just Idea of the Doctrines and Opinions of the ancient *English* Church, and more especially in those Points which have been the subject of Dispute betwixt the Reformed Church of *England*, and those in Communion with the Church of *Rome*.

In the great variety of Subjects, which a work of this kind necessarily leads one to, there is no doubt but some things will be left dark, especially to those who are not thoroughly acquainted with our History, and the Discipline of the ancient Church; some things will be improperly expressed; some things material will be overseen; some Mistakes in Things, and more in Time will certainly escape; and this Work will, on these many Accounts, need the Candour and Pardon of the Reader. All I shall say to intitle me to his Charity is, That I have wrote honestly; and to say nothing of the Fatigue and Charge which unavoidably attend such Undertakings, I may truly say I have sacrificed a great part of my Time and Health to the Publick, without any other Views, but the Service of GOD and our Holy Religion, and the Honour of the *English* Church and Nation; and shall make no scruple to own and mend my Faults whenever I come to a sight of them; and to wise and good Men, I hope there will need no other Apology: As for those who have no patience to see their own Sloath reproached by the Labours of other Men, or who have ill nature enough to value themselves for finding or exposing the Mistakes or Faults of others, I am equally prepared either to forgive or despise their Anger: But it is so much easier to find fault with Books than to write better, that if one was allowed to think of a Revenge, my resentment would never carry me further, than to wish, that those who find fault with this, would oblige their Country with a better History of the ancient *English* Church.

To

To whom I have been obliged for the Materials, the Margin will for the most part direct; and the pains that have already been taken by the Learned Authors of the *Historia Literaria*, and of the *English Historical Library*; and what the World may expect from another Learned Writer of our own may reasonably excuse me from an Account of the Age and Characters of the Historians I have been obliged to; but I must not omit to add, that where the matter was out of dispute, I have studiously avoided to multiply Authorities; and in the choice of those I have made use of, I have carefully endeavoured to take my Accounts from the Authors that lived in, or nearest the time of Action; and in those Things or Actions which have been the subject of Dispute, betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, I have chiefly relied on the Authorities allowed by those of the *Romish* Communion. And as in this Volume I have endeavoured to give a just Idea of the ancient *English Church*; and, in particular, to shew the sense thereof with respect to its own Rights, Freedom, and Independance on the Bishops of *Rome*; so if it please GOD to give me Health and Time, and such Conveniencies as may enable me to finish my Account of the first Ages after the *Norman Conquest*, I shall hope to shew when, and by what Steps and Arts the Bishops of *Rome* invaded the ancient Rights of the Church of *England*, and raised themselves to a sort of Sovereignty over the Western Churches, and to mark out the Changes in the Doctrine and Discipline which thence ensued.

I shall add no more, but that I hope that this Work, however imperfect, may, in some measure, answer the Ends I have designed it for, the Honour of GOD and his Church; or at least shew, that the History of the first Ages is not so dead and tasteless, or barren, but that it may deserve the Time and Pains of Men, who have more Leisure and better Opportunities than I was ever Master of. This Consideration, together with the great Labours which of late have been so successfully laid out upon the *Saxon Tongue*, the late discovery of Manuscripts which the Learned World chiefly owes to the Industry and Publick Spirit of our

own Nation; and the study of Antiquity which so much prevails at this time, as well Abroad as at Home, may, I hope, in time, produce perfect Histories of the *English Church and Nation*; and it will be no little satisfaction to me, if I have done no more than provoked some greater Hand, and led the way to, or but given the first Thoughts to something more worthy of our Church, and of our Country.

I have chiefly relied on the Authorities allowed by those of the *Romish Communion*. And as in this Volume I have endeavoured to give a just Idea of the ancient

THE Rights of the Church; and, in particular, to show the same thereof with respect to its own Rights, Freedom, and Independence on the Bishops of Rome; so it is please GOD to give me Health and Time, and such Conve-

niences as may enable me to finish my Account of the first Ages after the *Norman Conquest*. I shall hope to show when, and by what Steps and Acts the Bishops of Rome invaded the ancient Rights of the Church of *England*, and raised themselves to a sort of Sovereignty over the *Western Churches*, and to mark out the Changes in the Doctrine and Discipline which thence

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ERRATA.

PAGE 8. line 27. for 595, read 592. *ibid.* l. 30. after *Year*, leave out *five*. p. 14. l. 26. after the Words *is allowed*, leave out the Words, as well. p. 28. l. 3. *provision*, r. *prevision*. p. 32. l. 21. after *at*, add *the*. p. 42. l. 6. *Radbald*, r. *Eadbald*. p. 48. l. 15. *Adanus*, r. *Aidanus*. p. 50. l. 19. leave out *but*. p. 80. l. 42. *conveniency*, r. *convening*. p. 111. l. 36. after the Word *for*, leave out *that*. p. 113. l. 23. leave out *so*. p. 126. l. 3. *unacceptable*, r. *unaccountable*. p. 137. l. 8. after the Word *still*, leave out *nor*. p. 148. l. 33. after the Word *but*, leave out *to*, and for *ascribe* r. *ascribes*. p. 164. l. 33. after the Word *as*, add *to*. p. 170. l. 11. *Hickman*, r. *Hinckmar*. p. 177. l. 6. leave out the Word *so*. p. 185. l. 18. & p. 201. l. 37. & p. 202. l. 32. *Ostia*, r. *Ostium*. p. 186. l. 10. after *Right*, r. *of*. p. 227. l. 26. leave out *as*. p. 241. l. 11. leave out the Words, and *this*. p. 249. l. 27. *five Volumes*, r. *first Volume*. p. 257. l. 30. *that*, r. *the*. p. 259. l. 10. after the Word *saith*, add *he*. p. 265. l. 6. *most*, r. *much*; *ibid.* l. 9. *Edowments*, r. *Endowments*. p. 272. l. 38. *generality*, r. *Generosity*. p. 275. l. 35. *where*, r. *when*. p. 279. l. 14. leave out *upon*. p. 283. l. 25. *this*, r. *his*. p. 293. l. 11. *wherein*, r. *designed*. p. 316. l. 25, 26. after the Word *Priest*, leave out *likewise to all other Priests*. p. 334. l. 1. *least*, r. *last*. p. 359. l. 14. *Edmund*, r. *Edward*. p. 360. l. 14. *the Princes*, r. *those Princes*. p. 363. l. 1. *in its*, r. *to its*. p. 373. l. 38. after the Word *besides*, leave out *as*. p. 380. l. 32. *inconsistence*, r. *consistence*. p. 382. l. 31. before the Word *succession*, add *the*. p. 383. l. 7. *Norions*, r. *Notion*. p. 387. l. 27. *that Papacy*, r. *the Papacy*. p. 388. l. 12. *enquiring*, r. *inquiry*. *ibid.* l. 20. *Fosti*, r. *Tofti*. p. 389. l. 9. after the Word *gentle*, add *and*.

A HISTORY OF THE English Church.

CHAP. I.

Ab Anno 401 ad An. 590.

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X. *The Time and Opportunities the Saxons had to be instructed in the Christian Faith, betwixt the Marriage of Ethelbert and the coming of Austin.*

XI. *The State of the British and Scottish Churches at the coming of Austin.*

XII. *The Friendship betwixt the Saxons and the Picts; the Influence thereof in the Conversion of the Saxons.*

Anno
401.

SECT. I. **T**HE Fifth Century is very remarkable for many Changes in the Affairs of Europe, and there are yet remaining so many Marks of the Revolutions this Age produced, that there is scarce any Nation in Europe, which has not something extraordinary to render this Period memorable to succeeding Ages. The Seat of the Roman Empire was removed from Rome to Constantinople in the preceding Age; and whether it was, that nothing else could support the Empire, but the mighty Genius to Government that Rome produced; or whether it was, that God's time was come, to humble the Vanity of Mankind, by shewing how easily the best built Greatness is crush'd by his Hand: the Roman Glory never shone so bright, after the Seat of it was remov'd. But after several Invasions and Insults from the Goths and Vandals, and other fierce People from the North, in the two last Ages, the Empire was overwhelm'd, and torn to pieces, by them in the present Century. Alaric, General of the Goths, about the Year 410 besieged and took Rome; and in Italy it self laid the Foundations of a Gothic Kingdom. In this Century the Franks possess'd themselves of Gaule, and Pharamond their General has the first place in the Series of the French Monarchs. The Vandals and Alans possessed themselves of Spain.

SECT. II. The Britons had the same Fate with the Gauls and Spaniards, but with this difference, that their Case

Case was harder and less pity'd; for the *Romans* having withdrawn their Forces, instead of a brave Defence of that Liberty which Providence had put into their hands, they themselves betray'd it, and drew down Ruine upon themselves, by inviting the *Saxons* over to their Aid; for these having first repelled the *Picts* and *Scots*, turn'd their Arms upon their Masters. And to fill up the measures of their Sorrow, about the same time that the *Saxons* began to attempt their State, the *Pelagian* Heresy broke in upon the *British* Church: But as they took a wiser Course to stop the Progress of this Heresy, so it pleased God to give a Blessing to it; for the *Britons* finding themselves unable to confute the Error they were well resolv'd not to receive, (a) sent over to ask the Aid of the *Gallican* Church; (b) and in order thereunto, a Council being call'd in *France* about the Year 429. St. *German* and St. *Lupus* were made choice of by the *French* Bishops, (c) and were accordingly sent over to the assistance of the *Britons*. (d) The former, St. *German*, was Bishop of *Auxerre*, the other of *Troyes*; (e) and their Zeal and Conduct were answerable to their Character: For by frequent preaching, and Disputations, by the Zeal of their Address, and the weight of their Arguments, they held back those that were wavering, and recover'd those who had been mislead; and by the Blessing of God on their Labours, re-establish'd Peace and Truth in the *British* Churches. (f) Nor did these holy Prelates only teach the *Britons* Truth, but inspir'd them with Courage and Resolution too: for by their Encouragement and Presence, such Life was given to the trembling and intimidated *Britons*, that, as *Bede* saith, by the Courage these Prelates lent the *Britons*, they gain'd a considerable Victory over the *Saxons* (g).

SECT. III. But this was a Strain of Goodness out of the way of their Function; and God that seldom encourages Men out of the way of their Duty, did not give the Success with which he attended them in the Offices of their Ministry. However having done the business they came for, St. *German* and St. *Lupus* return'd to *France* again, loaded with the Thanks and Praises of the *Britons*, and with the Blessings of the God of Peace and Truth. After some time, this Heresy

(a) Bedæ Eccl.
Hist. Lib. I.
Cap. 17.
(b) Ibid.

(c) Mazeray
Clovis p. 18.
(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Bedæ Eccl.
Hist. Lib. I. Cap. 17.

(g) Bedæ Eccl.
Hist. Lib. I.
Cap. 20.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. I.
Cap. 21.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Baron.
Annal. Anno
604.

(d) Spondan.
Annal. Anno
604. n. 8.

(e) Gildæ Ep.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 18.

resy breaking out again, the Success of these holy Prelates led the *Britons* to the same Counsels, and they the second time sent to beg help from the *Gallic Church* (a); and *Lupus* being dead, *Severus* Bishop of *Triers* was join'd in commission with *St. German*, and they came together into *Britain* (b); and the Success was such as may be expected, when the Interests of Truth are committed to the Conduct of wise and holy Men, for they baffled the *Pelagian Heresy*; and having establish'd Peace in the *British Church*, they returned home again. And the Catholick Faith was from this time so intirely received, and preserved in the *British Churches*, that both *Baronius* (c) and his Epitomizer *Spondanus* agree, that at the coming of *Austin*, the Faith of those Churches was Catholick and Orthodox. But as these learned Writers say, those Churches had long continued in a State of Schism (d); and doubtless they had done so, if it be Schism not to live in Communion with the Church of *Rome*. For the foresaid Account of the Conduct of the *British Church*, in the matter of the *Pelagian Heresy*, and the after-treatment of *Austin*, together with the mighty difference in the Usuages, and Rites of the *British* and *Roman Churches*, and the difficulty with which the *Britons* were brought to any Communion with the Church of *Rome*, shew plainly, that the *Britons* were so far from any sense of the necessity of living in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, much more from owning its Authority over them, that on the contrary, they demonstrate, that the late Pretences of that Church were intirely unknown to the *Britons*; and that in all Probability, the *British Churches* had held no Correspondence with the Bishops, or Church of *Rome*, from the time that the *Romans* had drawn their Forces out of *Britain*, which was above two hundred Years before the coming of *Austin*.

SECT. IV. From this time, till the coming of *Austin* called the *Britons* to assert their Right as a National Church independent on any foreign Church, we hear no more of the *British Church* from *Bede*; but from *Gildas* (e) their own Historian, we hear so much of a general Looseness prevailing amongst the *British People*, that it seems too easy to account for the Wrath of God which too soon overtook them. But whatever the reason there-

thereof was, tho' God rescued the *British* Church from the *Pelagian* Heresy, yet he suffer'd their State to become a Prey to their Enemies; for the *Saxons* having once seated themselves in *Britain*, brought in so many Northern People to their Aid, that before the end of the following Century, they drove out the *Britons*; some to *Armorica*, or *Britany* in *Gaul*, some to *Cornwal*, the Western Corner of the Island; some fled to the *Picts* and *Scots*, and were forced to put themselves on the Humanity and Charity of their ancient and avowed Enemies, for their Safety and their Bread. Others purchased their Lives by yielding to what is worse than Death it self, a perpetual Slavery; and being forced by Famine, gave up themselves as Slaves to the Conquerors:

(a) but for the most part they which escaped the Sword, fled to the Western Parts of the *British* Isle, since known by the Name of *Wales*; where the Mountains, and Fastnesses, and their Poverty, preserved the sad Remains of the *British* Nation.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib I.
Cap. 15.

SECT. V. Having thus over-run the greatest part of the *British* Isle, according to the different Interests of the Adventurers, the *Saxons* parcell'd out their Conquests. *Hengist*, who was General to the first Adventurers, had the County of *Kent* for his share, and settled his Kingdom about the Year 455. The second Kingdom, in order of time, was that of the *South-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, which began under *Ella*, about the Year 481. The next was that of the *West-Saxons*, of which *Cerdick* was the first King, about the Year 522; this Kingdom contained the Counties of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, and *Berks*. The fourth Kingdom was that of the *East-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*: This was co-temporary with that of the *West-Saxons*, and began about the Year 527, under *Erchemine*, the first King thereof. The Kingdom of *Northumberland* seems to challenge the next place, in order of time, and was the fifth Kingdom of the *Saxons*, erected about the Year 547; this at first consisted of two Kingdoms or Provinces, the one of which was called *Bernicia*, the other *Deira*; the former containing the Country betwixt the *Tweed* and the *Frith of Edinborough*, the latter the Countries betwixt the *Humber* and the *Tweed*.

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The sixth Kingdom, that of the *East-Angles*, containing the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, was erected about the Year 575. The seventh, that of *Mercia*, was still later, being not erected till about the Year 582: This Kingdom contained the Counties of *Glocester*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Bedford*, *Nottingham*, *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Cheshire*. One cannot pretend to say, that these Kingdoms were the same from the beginning, or that their Bounds did not alter with the Princes who possessed them; yet the better to ascertain the places of Action, so necessary to be mention'd in the future Story, it seems needful to set down these Partitions, as they usually stand in our Geographers and Historians; and rather to yield to little Mistakes, than darken the History by Confusion, or Disagreement about Names.

SECT. VI. From this view of *Europe*, it will be requisite to return to the Affairs of the Church, which were so much of a piece with those of the State, that it is hard to say, whether *Europe* or *Christendom* suffer'd most by the Revolutions the fifth and sixth Centuries produced. By the Encouragement of *Constantine*, and the succeeding Christian Emperors, the Gospel had spread it self to the utmost Bounds of the Empire, and was in a very flourishing state and condition, when the Inundations of the Northern People at once cover'd the face of *Europe* with Confusion and Blood, and the blackest Errors. For the Gospel was every where forced to give way to Paganism, which kept pace with the Victories, and spread it self as far as the Successes of that People.

This was the case of *Britain*. The *Britons* had for some Ages before received the Christian Faith; and that so very early, that we hear of their Bishops at the Councils of *Nice* and *Arles*; and of their Christianity from *Origen* and *Tertullian*: And it is not without good Grounds, that our Writers place their Conversion as early as the days of the Apostles; and in this State they continued in possession of their Religion, and their Country, till the coming of the *Saxons*. But about the latter end of the fifth Century, the *Saxons* by an unhappy

unhappy Policy being called in to the defence of the *Britons*, planted themselves and Paganism together within this Island; and in this dismal state, these new Inhabitants generally continued for more than one entire Age, and some of them for more than two.

But about the latter end of the sixth Century, it pleased God to open a way to their Conversion, and by a particular Providence so to order the conduct of his Blessings, that a Prince of the same Line, by which the Idolatry of the *Saxons* was first establish'd in the *British* Isle, should have the Honour of being the great Instrument in the first Conversion of that People. The Manner and Circumstances of which happy Change, we are now to relate.

SECT. VII. The Pomp of the *Roman* Missions has made so much Noise in the World, and the Charity thereof has been so industriously brightned, that the Honour the Bishops of *Rome* justly merited by the share they had in the Conversion of the *English Saxons*, has been thought Ground enough, by some, to challenge the Glory and the Consequences thereof intirely to the See of *Rome*. It will therefore be needful to set this matter in its true Light; and without lessening the Charity and Piety of the Prelates which held that Chair, give the concurrent Causes, the just Honour they had in that holy Undertaking: For beside the especial Co-operation and Blessings with which God ever accompanies the Propagation of Truth and Holiness, there was a Confluence of many outward Causes in the Conversion of the *English Saxons*.

Anno
561

About the Year 561 *Ethelbert* succeeded his Father *Immeric* in the Kingdom of *Kent*: Who coming young to the Throne, and proving a brave and warlike Prince, by the Force and Terror of his Arms, he made all the other *Saxon* Kings become Tributaries to him, and placed his Name at the Head of the *Saxon* Monarchs. Having raised himself to this great Figure, he endeavour'd to secure himself at home, by his Alliances abroad: And in order thereunto married *Berte*, Daughter of *Cherebert* a King of *France*, about the Year 570.

SECT. VIII. The *Franks* who were a Northern People, but had possessed themselves of *Gaul*, about the

Anno
570

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 25.
Mezeray,
Life of Chere-
bert, An. 570.
(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib.
Cap. 25.
(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 26.

the same time the Saxons did of Britain, had received the Christian Religion; and therefore upon the conclusion of the foresaid Marriage, it was agreed that the Queen should be allowed the publick Exercise of her Religion: (a) And accordingly when she came over, besides her other Chaplains she brought over *Luidhard* a French Bishop, (b) to attend upon her; and a Church built in the time of the Britons, and dedicated by the Name of St. Martin, near the East-side of the City of Canterbury, was fitted up for her: (c) thus far ours and the French Historians are agreed. But the French carry this matter a great deal farther, and say, that *Berte* being a Princess of great Beauty, and greater Virtue, so insinuated her self into the Affections of her Husband, that she prevail'd upon him to receive the Christian Religion; and that the English Nation owe their Religion, Civility, and Polishing, to the Accomplishments of that Princess (d).

(d) Mezeray,
Anno 570.

And Gregory in his Epistle to that Princess, upon the Conversion of the Saxons, owns, that the Impressions which she had made on the King, had long before the coming of *Austin* prepared that Prince's Mind for the reception of the Christian Faith (e). And which is still more, *Bede* saith, that *Ethelbert* died in the Year 613, and that this Year was the one and twentieth Year from his Baptism (f); so that according to that Account he was baptized in the Year 592, which was five Years before *Austin* came into Britain. And the Account of

(e) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 9.
Epist. 59.

(f) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 5.

(g) Cressley's
Ch. Hist. Lib.
14. Cap. 6.
p. 322.

Mr. Cressley (g) does not much mend the matter, for he says that *Austin* came into England in the Year ~~596~~ 597, and that *Ethelbert* died in the Year 616; and yet he allows that *Ethelbert* died the one and twentieth Year after his Conversion to the Christian Faith; and in both these particulars, the Account of that learned Writer follows the Chronology at the end of *Bede's* History: according to which Account, the Conversion of that Prince falls in with the Year 595; and consequently, he was converted two Years before *Austin* came into England. This would go a great way in confirming the Pretensions of the French, if the Chronology of *Bede* were not inconsistent with its self in this particular; but that is so manifest, that there is no stress to be laid upon it.

SECT.

SECT. IX. But the Answer of *Gregory* to the third Question of *Austin*, wherein *Gregory* advises *Austin* to use either the Liturgies and Rites of *Rome*, or *France*, amongst the *English*, as he should see most likely to win upon them, (a) gives great reason to think, not only that that Princess was greatly instrumental in the Conversion of the *English*, and therefore was not to be disobliged, by introducing Ceremonies contrary to those she had brought from *France*; but makes it highly probable, that many of the *English* had been converted, and received the Liturgy and Ceremonies of the *French*, before the coming of *Austin*. For an over-value for their Rites and Usages, is an Infirmary that so generally waits upon good Men, and this often accompanied with such stiffness and adhering, that, the natural Warmth of *Gregory* consider'd, his Moderation seems no other way to be accounted for, but on the fore-said Grounds: And which is still more, it appears by two Epistles of *Gregory*, that the *Saxons* themselves were in some measure sensible of the danger of their Condition; and before he had any thoughts of sending over *Austin*, desired to embrace the Christian Faith: which in his Epistles to *Theoderick* and *Theobert* Kings of the *Franks*, *Gregory* thus expressed: *We are informed that the English Nation is desirous to become Christian; but the Clergy neglect to assist them with their Exhortation and Advice, and therefore have we sent Austin, the Bearer of this, whose Zeal is well known unto us, together with other Servants of God, to go over to Britain; and have required him to take some Priests with them from the Neighbourhood, who may be Interpreters to Austin, and his Brethren, and assist them with their Labours and advice. And therefore he begs of those Princes, that for God's sake they would favour him with their best Assistance* (b).

(a) Bed. Ecel.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 27.

(b) Greg. Ep.
Lib. 5. Ep. 58.

And in his following Epistle to *Brunichilde*, a Queen of the *Franks*, he writes in the same manner, and almost in the same Words. One can conclude nothing less from these Epistles, but that the *Saxons* were not only desirous to receive the Christian Faith, but had also signified their Desire to the *French*; and that it is the *French* Clergy that *Gregory* blames, for the neglect of the Christian Office, they had intreat-

*Indicamus ad nos pervenisse
Anglorum Gentem, Deo annu-
ente, velle fieri Christianam,
sed Sacerdotes qui in vicinis
sunt, pastorem erga illos sol-
licitudinem non habere.*
Greg. Epist. Lib. 5. Epist. 59.

ed from them. Thus much at least is certain, from these Epistles, that that People were well disposed to the Christian Religion, before the coming of *Austin*; and that this disposition had come to the knowledge of *Gregory*; and in all probability, by the means of *Queen Bertie*.

Anno
570.

(a) Bedæ
Ecclef. Hist.
Lib. I. Cap. 23.
(b) Baron.
Annal. An.
597.

SECT. X. 'Tis not easy to determine how long things continued in this state, before the coming of *Austin*. If we may rely on the Chronology of *Mezeray*, and fix the Marriage of *Ethelbert* about the Year 570. the first Commission of *Austin* the Monk in the Year 596. and his Arrival the Year following, as *Bede* (a) and *Baronius* (b), we have a long interval of twenty six or twenty seven Years, betwixt the Marriage of that Prince, and the coming of *Austin*, a time, one would think, sufficient to give footing to the wisest and best Institution in the World; especially if we consider it as pushed on by the Zeal and Interest, and illustrated by the Example of a Princess of great Piety and Goodness: So that the *French* Historian has at least a very colourable pretence, for ascribing the first Conversion of the *Saxons* to that Princess.

But, besides the advantages which arose from hence, the wise Providence of God had, by several other advantageous circumstances, prepared a way for the Conversion of the *English Saxons*; for the *Franks*, the *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and the rest of the Northern People, who had planted themselves in *Gaul*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, had for the most part yielded Obedience to the Christian Faith. The *Scots* of *Ireland* had escaped the inundations which overspread all the other Western Nations of *Europe*, and preserved their Faith and their Country.

SECT. XI. The *Britons*, who had escaped the fury of the *Saxons*, had, before the coming of *Austin*, so far recovered themselves, that under a wise and regular Discipline they had re-established their Church, and regained some part of the Glory which they had lost by the Conquest of the *Saxons*; for though God thought fit to lay his heavy Hand upon them, yet he preserved such noble remains of the *British* Church and Nation, that the Marks of his Mercy and Goodness, in their Preservation and future Settlements, are no less visible than those of his Anger and Justice, in their Punishment. Those which

which fled to *France*, and united with such of their Ancestors as had been drawn out of *Britain* by the Emperors *Gratian* and *Theodosius*, and planted in *Gaul Arémorique*, by *Maximus*, Lieutenant of *Britain*, under the *Romans*. These not only gave the name of *Bretaign* to that part of *Gaul* which they possessed, but under a succession of Kings of their own, preserved themselves beyond the first Race of the *French* Kings; and made so great a Figure under the second, that it was not without great expence of Blood that they were compelled to yield to the good Fortune of *Charles* the Great, and become Tributaries to that Prince. Their Church too made no less Figure in the Sacred Story.

As for those *Britons* who retired into the Western Parts of the Isle, as well those of *Cornwal*, as those of *Wales*, amidst the heavy Judgments which befel them, God reserved to them the comforts of their Religion; and what they lost in the face and glory of their Church, was repaid to them in the ardors of a holy Zeal, and a just sense of the Calamity which was fallen upon them. As for the *Cornish Britons*, it is not easy to account for their Discipline and Government. Two *British* Bishops, as *Bede* (a) saith, assisted *Wini*, Bishop of *Winchester*, at the Consecration of *Ceada*, Bishop of *York*; but whether they were Bishops of the *Cornish Britons*, who were tributary to the *West-Saxons*, and who might upon that account be induced to join with the Bishop of that Kingdom: or whether they were Bishops of *South-Wales*, there is not light enough to determine, much less to make a true Judgment of the present state of Christianity amongst the *Cornish Britons*.

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 3. cap. 28.

But thus much is very evident, that the *Cornish Britons* were very numerous, and had, for the most part of them, maintain'd their Rites and Usages till the latter end of the Seventh Century, when *Aldhelmus* was employ'd to write against them, and made Bishop of *Sherbourn* for the Services he did in bringing of (*Bede* saith) very many of the *Britons*, under the Dominion of the King of the *West-Saxons* (b), to the Catholick *Easter*.

(b) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 5. cap. 19.

As for those who inhabited *Wales*, they had their Diocesan Bishops, under one Metropolitan the Archbishop of *Caerleon*; and if their Number and Districts cannot be ascertained, 'tis evident that no less than seven of their Bishops

Bishops appear'd at the Second Conference with *Austin*: And tho' *Baronius* has so much Assurance, and so little Charity, as to pronounce these *Britons* guilty of Schism; yet he allows their Government to have been regular, and their Faith Orthodox. And both *Austin* and his Successors, by making the submission of the *Britons* to their Authority, as Metropolitans, the first and chief Article of Communion, leave it past doubt that they were fully satisfied of the purity of their Doctrine, and the canonical succession of their Bishops.

Such too was the state of the *Scotish* Churches in *Ireland*, their Faith and Discipline were the same with the *British* Churches, and their Friendship and Communion reciprocal. Such too was the state of those Churches planted by the *Britons* and *Scots* in the Northern Parts of *Britain*, and the adjacent Isles: And the difference betwixt the *Britons* and the *Scots* in *Ireland* lay chiefly in this, that the *Scots* escaped the Vengeance and Confusion which for a time covered the face of the *British* Church.

Nor were the *British* and *Irish* Churches only in a flourishing condition at the coming of *Austin*, but the *Britons* and *Irish Scots*, before his coming, had done a great deal towards restoring Christianity to the *British* Island, and were worthy Instruments in forwarding the eternal Salvation of those Men, whose Fathers had Masacred their Ancestors, and laid waste their Country: For, as *Bede* observes, (a) *Columba* came from *Ireland* about the Year 565, and converted the *Picts* inhabiting the Northern Parts of *Britain*. The *Saxon Chronicle* agrees with this account of *Bede* (b); but the *Annals of Asserius* place this Affair five Years sooner (c). As for the Southern *Picts* they had been converted long before by *Nynia*, a *British* Bishop (d). And an Episcopal See was founded, the Church whereof was dedicated to *St. Martin*; and from the building thereof with white Stone, was known in *Bede's* Time, and long after, by the Name of *Candida Casa*, (e) or *Whittern* in *Galloway* in *Scotland*.

SECT. XII. And according to the account of Mr. *Cambden*, the *Picts* had anciently *Edinburgh* for their Capital City, and their Country extended it self Southward to the Frith of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*:
And

(a) Bedæ,
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 3. cap. 4.

(b) Chron.
Saxon. An.
560.

(c) Annal.
Asserii Anno
565. XV.
Scriptor. pag.
143.

(d) Bed. Ecc.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 4.

(e) Ibid.

and it seems probable that one of the first great Bodies of *Saxons*, under pretence of covering the *Britons* from the insults of the *Picts* and *Scots*, made their first Settlement in that part of *Britain* which was anciently the Country of the *Picts*, lying about the Friths of *Edenborough* and *Dunbritton*; at least thus much is certain, that *Nennius*, the British Historian, saith, that *Vortigern*, King of the *Britons*, having married the Daughter of *Hengist*, one of the *Saxon* Generals, did, by his Perswasions, grant leave to call over a greater number of his Countrymen; and to settle themselves in the Northern Parts of *Britain*, near the Wall of the *Picts* (a); and that those new Colonies arriving, they did, after some contest with the *Picts*, settle themselves on the Confines of the *Picts*, on the North-side of the Frith (b), having the *Britons* on the South, and the *Scots* on the North; and here, as that Writer saith, they possess'd themselves of vast Countries (c), probably part of those Countries, which are now known by the Name of the *Lowlands of Scotland*: And the *Scotch* Historians do not deny but such a Colony of the *Saxons* was settled by the consent of the *Britons*, to be a Bridle upon the *Scots* (d).

(a) Nenni
Hist. Britan.
cap. 38. XV.
Script. p. 107.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Forden.
Hist. Scot.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 631.

This new Colony being thus settled, did, after some time, enter into Friendship with the *Picts* and *Scots*; and in conjunction with them, and the *Saxons* in *Kent*, turn'd their Arms against the *Britons* (e), if this Account may be rely'd upon; and we conclude, that this People continued their Possession, till the Multitudes which were drawn thence to assist in the conquest of the Southern Parts of *Britain*, so weakned them, that they were conquered by the *Scots*. We have an easy Account to give of the mighty Feuds and Animosities betwixt the Highland and Lowland *Scotch*; and see plainly how it came to pass, that whilst the Highland *Scots* retain the *Irish* Tongue, the Lowlands speak that of the *Saxons*.

(e) Nennii
Hist. Brit.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 107.

And if the first Seat of the *Albion* or *English Scots* be straiten'd by this Settlement, the enlarging of their Country by the Conquest of the *Picts* and *Saxons*, and giving the Name of *Scots* to the *Picts* and *Saxons*, which they subdued, and of *Scotland* to the Countries of the People they conquered, make a lasting and defensible Provision for the honour of that warlike Nation; whilst the fond and helpless Opinions of some of their Writers, by

making their History incredible, lessens the Honour they pretend to magnifie. Nor were the *Scots* singular in taking up the Language of the People they conquered; for, to say nothing of the *Romans*, this was the case of the *Goths*, the *Franks* and *Normans*. The *Goths* and *Vandals*, who seated themselves in *Italy*, and in *Spain*, submitted to the Language of the People they conquered. The *Franks* lost their Tongue, and took up that of the *Gauls*: And this was twice the case of the *Normans*; for in *Gaul* they lost the Language they brought from the North; and in *England* the Language they brought from *Gaul*.

And indeed this ever was and will be the case in Conquests, where the Body of the People continue the same; but if there be truth in the Opinions, some learned Men of the *Scotch* Nation have run into, that the whole Body of that People (now known by the Name of *Scots*) have the same original; and were, before the coming of the *Saxons*, possessed of all that Country which they now inhabit; and that their Neighbourhood and Commerce with the English, introduced the English Tongue into that Nation. In the parting with their native Tongue, to take up that of a neighbouring Nation, we have such an original of complaisance, as is to be found nowhere in the World besides.

But be this matter as it will, what is allow'd, as well by the *Scotish* and *Saxon*, as well as *English* Historians, is enough to shew, that the *Saxons* long before the coming of *Austin*, had entered into a Friendship with the *Scots* and *Picts*, who were Christians; and it is reasonable to think, that their Neighbourhood and Friendship with those People, could not but give them some knowledge of the Christian Religion, and do something towards preparing the way for it.

But thus much is evident, that the *Picts*, notwithstanding this change of Affairs, retained the Christian Faith; and that their Country, and particularly that Island which *Bede* so often mentions, under the Name of *Hy*, and *Hu*, now *Iona*, so famous for the Monastery erected there by *Columba*, the Apostle of the *Picts*, (a) became the Sanctuary and Nursery of Religion and Learning; and not only preserved the Christian Faith, but bred abundance of Great Men, which *Bede*, and all our

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib 5.
Cap. 10.

our other Historians agree, were great Instruments in the Conversion of the Saxons ; as shall be related in its proper place.

God having thus prepared the way, we are in the next place to review the *Roman Missions*, and the part they had in the Conversion of the *Saxon People*.

C H A P. II.

Ab Anno 590 ad Annum 601.

SECT. I. **T**HE Time and Reason of Gregory's sending Austin.

II. Austin was frightened, and went back from France to Rome, to beg Gregory's Excuse ; returns with new Letters of Commendation to the French King and Bishops.

III. Austin provides Interpreters in France, and comes into England : His Reception and first Successes.

IV. Austin enters Canterbury in Procession, settles in Canterbury, and joins with the Queen and French Bishop, and resorts to the Chapel set apart for that Princess : By her influence and perswasion he brought over Ethelbert, King of Kent, to the Christian Faith ; and, by his Example, many of the People of Kent. His Success magnified by Gregory.

V. A difference amongst Historians, about the Time and Circumstances of Austin's Success : He is transported with it.

VI. Austin goes into France, and is consecrated Bishop. A dispute betwixt Bede and Baronius, about the time of his Consecration, the Ground of that Dispute.

VII. Austin sends to Rome to give Account of his Success, and desires farther help. His Questions, and the Answers of Gregory ; the Authority that Gregory gave to Austin over the British Church.

VIII. Mellitus, and a new Colony of Monks sent to Austin. Gregory reflects on the vanity of Austin.

IX. Instructions of Gregory, relating to the Pagan Temples, and their way of Worship. The ill consequences of this Advice.

X. Gre-

- X. Gregory's Advice to Serenus, Bishop of Marselles, the same Year : It occasions introducing Images : The reason of his Advice : The mischief thereof to the Western Church.
- XI. The difference betwixt the Conversion of the first Christians, and those of the Northern Nations, in the sixth and seventh Centuries : The aversion of the Britons to the Worship introduced by Austin : The Grounds thereof.
- XII. A Pall sent to Austin ; and a Model for the new Saxon Church.
- XIII. Gregory gives Austin Power over the British Church. Some reflections on the Conduct of Gregory.
- XIV. The Ground of Gregory's Proceeding inquired into : The ill success thereof.

Anno
590

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 23.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 1.

SECT. I. **I**N this Posture stood the Affairs of Britain, when Gregory the Great came to the Papacy, about the Year 590, the eighth of the Reign of the Emperor *Mauritius*, according to *Baronius* ; or the tenth according to the account of *Bede*, (a) tho' Gregory was not without his Faults ; yet if we take his Character together, we find such Marks of a primitive Spirit, as very justly merit the veneration of succeeding Ages ; for, to pass by all other Instances, the share he had in the Conversion of the Saxons is never to be thought on but with Gratitude, nor to be mentioned without Honour : It is hard to say when he first formed that design ; or the true occasion that gave beginning to it. In one place *Bede* resolves it into a holy Inspiration (b), in another, to a noble Pity, occasioned by seeing some of the *English* exposed to sale in the Market (c) : And in this Opinion he is followed by *Baronius* ; and, as he observes, by *Johannes Diaconus*, and some other Historians.

But it seems most probable, that the first motive to this Undertaking was the desire of the *English* to receive the Christian Faith, signified to him from *Berte*, Queen of *Kent*. But whatever the occasion was, Gregory having formed a design to attempt the conversion of the *English Saxons*, he made choice of *Austin*, Prior of the Monastery of *St. Martin* in *Rome*, for the conduct of it ; and, together with about forty other Monks, to be assistant to him, sent him towards *Britain*, in the Year 596.

SECT.

SECT. II. But *Austin* coming to *France*, was so frightened by the Character he there received of the *English Saxons*, and the consideration of his being intirely a stranger to their Language, that leaving his Company in *France* he returned to *Rome*, and represented to *Gregory* the hazard, and uncomfortable views of his Undertaking; and with much importunity intreated to be excused (a); but having proceeded so far, the Wisdom and Honour of *Gregory* were engaged in the prosecution of the Attempt; and therefore having quieted or over-ruled the Fears of *Austin*, and from the vigours of his own Mind lent him new Courage, *Gregory* sent him back to *France* again, with a Letter of Encouragement to his Brethren (b). And to give new Life to the hopes of *Austin*, he recommended him by his Letters to the Kings and Queens, and several Bishops of *France*, and desired that they would favour him with their best Assistances in his Undertaking (c); and more particularly to the Bishops of *Arles* (d) and *Vienne* (e).

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
596.

(b) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 4.
Epist. 57.

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 23.

Baron.
Annal. An.
526.

(d) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 24.

(e) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 5.
Epist. 54.

SECT. III. *Austin* having provided himself of Interpreters in *France*, sailed this Year into *Britain*; and having landed in the Isle of *Thanet*, he dispatched some of his Company to *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, to acquaint him with his coming, and of the importance of his Errand; having received this Message, the King commanded that he should continue in the Isle till further Orders; and, in the mean time, that he should be treated with all Gentleness and Humanity: and, after some time, appointed a Day to hear his Message; and, for that end, together with some of his Nobility, he went into the Island; and, whether it was that the Superstitions of the Pagan Worship, had taught him to suspect some Fascination; or, whether the conduct of *Austin* had given him a wrong Idea of the Religion of Christ, that Prince conducting himself by a receiv'd Notion, that Charms could have no power over him in the open Air, he took up his Seat in the open Field, and commanded *Austin* to attend him there. *Austin* having received this Command, put himself and his Followers into the Form of a Procession, and erecting his silver Cross, and carrying in his Arms the Picture or Image of Christ, he and his Company singing their Letany, came to the presence of the King (f).

(f) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 25.

(a) Ibid.

The King having heard, by the Interpreter of *Austin*, an account of the Nature and Promises of the Gospel, before he dismissed him, gave him liberty to preach the Christian Religion in his Kingdom, and assigned him a House in the City of *Canterbury* (a). Whether these Favours were the effect of God's Blessings upon the Discourse of *Austin*; or the issue of the Perswasions of the Queen, and the applications of the *French* King; or whether owing to the preceding desire and disposition of the *English* to receive the Faith, is equally difficult, and invidious to determine.

Anno
598.

(b) Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Lib. 1.
cap. 25.

SECT. IV. But to whatever reasons he owed his Success, *Austin* having been thus favourably received by the King, hastened to *Canterbury*, to reap the benefit of the Grant that Prince had made him; and whether it was that he hoped by charming the Senses, to captivate the Understandings to the Obedience of Christ; and, by Pomp and Shew, supply his defect of Language, he enter'd *Canterbury* in the same manner that he had address'd himself to the King in the Isle of *Thanet* (b), in the form of Procession, and singing the Office *Gregory* had not long before prepared upon the occasion of a great Plague in *Rome*.

(d) Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Lib. 1.
cap. 26.

Austin being settled in *Canterbury*, join'd himself and his Company to the Queen's Chapel; and, by God's Blessing upon his Endeavours, and the Influence and Example of that Princess, great numbers were brought to the Christian Religion; and, if we may rely on the Authority of *Baronius*, before this Year ended, King *Ethelbert* declared himself a Christian, and was Baptized; (c) and tho' at the same time he gave one of the most certain Marks of a Christian Spirit, and did a great deal of Honour to the Instructions of *Austin*, by declaring, that Christ required no other than a voluntary Obedience, but forbid violence and force; yet the Example and Zeal of that Prince were great Instruments of Good; and drew great numbers of his Subjects to follow his Example; and the Success of *Austin* was so extraordinary, that *Gregory*, in an Epistle to *Eulogius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, saith, that the Miracles of those who engaged in this Undertaking, shone like those of the Apostles; and that on *Christmas-Day* more than Ten Thousand *English* were Baptized. (d)

(d) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 7.
Epist. 30.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Baronius* ascribes this Success to *Austin*, and fixes it in the Year 597; and this upon the authority of the foresaid Epistle: But this Affair which *Baronius*, from the Authority of *Gregory's* Epistle, places in this Year, *Ranulphus* postpones to the Year 603 (a), and saith, it was perform'd in the River *Swale*, near to *York*. *Birchington* saith the same thing as to the place and number of the Baptized (b). And *Joceline* agrees with them in those circumstances, but adds, that it was performed immediately after *Austin's* Conference with the *Britons*; and has furnished us with many circumstances relating to his Journey and Return from *York* (c): Yet it is not unlikely but there is a Mistake in all these Relations; and that what *Bede* saith of *Paulinus* (d), who baptized great numbers in the River *Swale*, is misapplied to *Austin*.

And that which confirms one in this belief, is, that *Bede* expressly saith, that *Ensfled*, the Daughter of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, who was born about twenty Years after the Death of *Austin*, was the first of all the *Northumbrians* which received Baptism (e). And *Nennius* saith the same thing (f). Nor is there more certainty of the time when *Ethelbert* received Baptism; for tho' *Baronius* fixes it in the Year 597, yet it is omitted in the Chronology of *Bede*; and which is more, the Epistle of *Gregory*, to congratulate the Conversion of that Prince, bears date in *June*, the nineteenth of the Emperor *Mauritius*, which falls in with the Year 601. And the Epistles of *Gregory* to *Theodorick*, and *Clotharius*, Kings of the *Francks*, to *Brunichild* Queen, and several of the *French* Bishops, to return Thanks for their Favours and good Offices to *Augustine*, are all of the same date (g), which seems no way to sute the Zeal and Concern of *Gregory* in that Affair, if that Prince had been converted four Years before.

And yet, to speak the truth, in the body of the 'fore-said Epistle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius*, the Baptism of the ten thousand *English* is said to be in the first Year of the Indiction, which falls in with the latter end of the Year of our Lord 597; but that Epistle make no mention of the Baptism of King *Ethelbert*, nor of the place where the ten thousand *English* were baptized; but if there be any truth in it, this must be done this Year, and the Kingdom of *Kent* the place, and not *Yorkshire*,
as

(a) Polychron.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 227.

(b) Angliæ Sac.
Pars I. pag. 1.

(c) Vita Au-
gustini Ang.
Sac. Part II.
pag. 67.
(d) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(e) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 9.
(f) Nennii
Hist. Britan.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 114.

(g) Greg. Ep.
Lib. 9. Ep. 52,
53, 55, 56.

as the 'foresaid Historians affirm; but no reason can be assigned, why *Gregory* should make no mention of the Conversion and Baptism of the King of *Kent*, if *Austin* had had the Honour of such a Proselyte.

But whenever this Affair was transacted, thus much is certain, that God was pleased to make *Austin* a great Instrument of his Glory; and it is as certain, he had much ado to bear the Honour God was pleased to do him.

S E C T. VI. Things being brought to this pass, the better to qualifie himself for the regular establishment of that Church he had laid the Foundations of, *Austin* went into *France*, where he was consecrated Bishop by the Archbishop of *Arles* (a), under the Title of Archbishop of the English (b). *Baronius* charges *Bede* with a Mistake in this particular, (c) and saith, that *Austin* was consecrated Bishop before his coming into *Britain*, and founds his Censure on the 'foresaid Epistle of *Gregory* to *Eulogius*: And thus much is evident, that in that Epistle *Gregory* saith, that he had given leave to the *German* Bishops to consecrate *Austin*, and gives him the Title of Bishop; and yet, after all, that Epistle is no way inconsistent with the Account of *Bede*; for all that can be concluded from that Epistle, is, that *Austin* had the Character of a Bishop, at the time when it was wrote, which was in *June*, the first of the Indiction; so that if the coming of *Austin* into *Britain*, was in the Year of our Lord 597, and the fifteenth of the Indiction, *June* the first of the following Indiction may very well be above a Year after his Arrival in *Britain*; so that if his coming be fixed the beginning of the Year 597, and the Baptism of the English the *Christmas* following, *Austin* had six Months time before the date of *Gregory's* Epistle, to receive his Consecration, and give him information thereof.

But there is yet a greater difficulty unobserved by *Baronius*, and that is, that *Bede* saith, that *Austin* was consecrated a Bishop by *Etherius*, Archbishop of *Arles*, (d) whereas it appears by several Epistles of *Gregory* (e) that *Virgilius*, which *Bede* (f) allows to be the Successor of *Etherius*, was Archbishop of *Arles* the thirteenth Year of the Indiction, which answers to the Year of our Lord 595; whereas *Austin* did not set out for *Rome* till the Year

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. I. cap. 27.
(b) Ibid.
(c) Baron.
Annal. An.
597.

(a) Bed. Ecel.
Hist. Lib. I.
Cap. 27.
(e) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 4.
Epist. 52. 53.
(f) Bedæ,
Eccles. Hist.

Year following. In short, the first Letter of Gregory to *Etherius* (a), in favour of *Austin*, bears date a Year after the 'forementioned Epistles to his Successor *Vigilius*. Upon the whole matter, it appears easy to perplex, but very difficult to set this Affair in its true Light ; but since *Baronius* his Censure of *Bede* is founded on the Epistles of Gregory, and there is a manifest inconsistency in the dates of those Epistles, and the Chronology of *Bede* appears consistent with it self, it seems reasonable to leave him possessed of his Authority, notwithstanding what is said to the contrary by *Baronius*.

SECT. VII. *Austin* being consecrated Bishop, presently sent away *Laurentius* a Priest, and *Peter* a Monk to *Rome*, to give Gregory an account of his Success (b), and to desire assistance in carrying on the Work he had so happily begun, and to receive the directions of Gregory for his future Conduct ; nor did he omit to magnify the Miracles that God is said to have wrought by his hands ; and that he might not be mistaken by these Messengers, *Austin* sent several written Inquiries unto Gregory. And tho' the Questions sent by *Austin* to Gregory have a turn so peculiar, that few wise Men would have hit upon them ; yet because they may give us some light into the Genius and Sentiments, as well of the Age as of the Man, it may not be unworthy of our time to take a short view of them, together with the Answers of Gregory. (c)

In the first, *Austin* inquires how he should establish the Revenues of the Church of *Canterbury* ? to which Gregory answers, that he should take his Pattern from the Church of *Rome*, and divide the Revenue into four Parts, allowing one to the Bishop for the support of his Family, and maintenance of Hospitality, the second to the Clergy, the third to the Poor, the fourth to the support of the Fabrick. The second Question of *Austin* is, How he should provide for the married Clergy ? Gregory answers, they should have a Portion assign'd, distinct from such of the Clergy as lived in one Society. To the third Question, about the different Usages and Rites of the Church, Gregory answers with the Temper and Wisdom becoming his Character, that his first care should be for the edification of the Church he was to establish, and that without any regard either to the Ceremonies of

Rome, or France, he should introduce such Rites into the *English* Church, as were most likely to forward the Honour of God, and the Holiness of the Church he was to establish. The fourth Question is, How the Robbers of the Church should be punished? The fifth, Whether two Brothers might marry two Sisters? The sixth, What degrees of Kindred may marry? The seventh, Whether in case of distance a Bishop may be consecrated by one of the same Order? In two other of his Questions he inquires, Whether a Woman with Child may be baptiz'd? and whether the pollutions of a Dream may unfit a Man for the Offices of the Ministry, or the participation of the Holy Sacrament.

The Answers are all as weighty as the Questions deserve: In the ninth Interrogation *Austin* inquires how he should behave himself towards the *Gallic* and *British* Bishops; to which *Gregory* answered, that he should not pretend to any Authority over the *French* Bishops; but as to the *British* he committed them wholly to his care, that he might teach the unlearned, confirm the weak, and correct the obstinate.

(a) *Decretal*
Gregor. Fol.
464. Edit.
Paris 1533.

SECT. VIII. These Questions and Answers, as they are printed in the Works of *Gregory*, (a) are much the same as in *Bede*; only the Copy in *Gregory's* Works has one Question and Answer more than the Copy in the History of *Bede*; but in both places they are without date: But it seems probable, they were sent over with the second Colony of Monks, conducted by *Mellitus* their Abbot, and *Laurentius*, whom *Austin* had sent to *Rome*, and came together with them into *Britain*, in the Year 601; and not only the Letters of *Gregory* to the King and Queen of *Kent*, but all the commendatory Epistles to the King and Queen, and several Bishops of the *Franks* (b), and the Chronology of *Bede* answer this Account. Amongst those who came at this time into *Britain*, were *Mellitus*, *Iustus*, *Paulinus*, who afterwards distinguished themselves, and had a great share in the future Labour and Honour of this Holy Undertaking.

(b) *Gregor.*
Epist. Lib. 9.
Ep. 52. 55, 56.

But by an Epistle of *Gregory* it appears, that in the account which *Austin* had sent to *Rome*, he had taken care to recount the Miracles that God had wrought by his Hand; but with an air and relish, that lessened the Man, by

by magnifying the Miracles. To which *Gregory*, in a distinct Epistle answered, like one that took pleasure in the Success, but pitied the Vanity it had occasioned. And therefore at the same time that he sent him over all necessary Helps and Instructions, and made a just acknowledgment of his Labours, he furnished him with Arguments to cure his Vanity. (a)

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
cap. 31.

SECT. IX. Amongst other Instructions brought over by *Mellitus* (b) *Gregory* directs *Austin* not to destroy the Places used by the *Saxons* for the Pagan Worship; but that having first cast out the Images of their Gods, he should with Holy Water sprinkle the Walls thereof, build Altars, and furnish them with Reliques, and thus set them apart for the Service of God. But as to the Rites and Usages of the Pagan Worship, his Instructions are more surprising, and seem better fitted to the following than the present Age; and this was to treat the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Pagan English*, as he did the places of their Worship; not to abolish them, but having first fitted them for it, by changing the end of those Institutions, he should then introduce them into the Christian Worship. (c)

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(b) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 9.
Epist. 71.
Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 30.

And amongst others of this kind, *Gregory* takes notice of a *Saxon* Festival, that seems to lie so cross to the purity of the Gospel-Worship, as one would have thought could never have been reconciled to it. And whereas, saith *Gregory*, the *Saxons* used to slay abundance of Oxen, and sacrifice them to Devils, you shall not abolish this Custom, but appoint new Festivals, either in Honour of the Saints to whom their Churches are dedicated, or whose Reliques are deposited therein; and making Arbors, with branches of Trees round their Churches, the *Saxons* shall be allowed to kill their Oxen, and Feast, and enjoy themselves, as they did in their former Pagan state; only they shall offer their Thanks and Praises unto God. (d)

(c) Baron.
Annal.
Anno 601.

And the Reasons upon which this Advice is founded, are the difficulties of drawing of Men from long continued Usages; the example of God, in allowing the *Israelites* the use of the *Egyptian* Sacrifices; and the hopes, by such Indulgence, to bring the Converts, in time, to a better sense of their Duty to God. The Reasons of *Gregory* admit of much dispute, but the Advice has

(d) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 19.
Epist. 71.
Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 30.

has a danger attends it too visible to be the subject of a Question.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 7.

(b) Concil.
Britan, Vol. I.
pag. 299.

And the Success was such as might be expected from such a beginning; for this unhappy Error took such root amongst the *English*, that about forty Years after *Ercombert* King of *Kent* was forced to forbid those Idolatrous Practices, by a Law (a) which had at first been allowed to his Ancestors: And the Council of *Calcuith*, (b) near two hundred Years after the coming of *Austin*, takes notice of the Reliques of Paganism, then remaining amongst the *English*: And it may be, without looking further than the Reasons and Conduct of *Gregory*, one has a just view of the original of those Usages which in time became a burthen and a reproach to the Western Church, and of the Reasons which first introduc'd them.

SECT. X. It seems probable, that this Method prescribed by *Gregory* to win the *English*, was the same that had before been made use of in the Conversion of the *Franks*, and such of the Northern People as had settled themselves in the Southern Parts of *France*, who had been allow'd to introduce their Images into Churches; and the consequence of this was so gross and visible an Idolatry in the Worship thereof, that *Serenus*, at this time Bishop of *Marselles*, at once to shew his detestation of their Sins, and to prevent the like for the future, caused their Images to be taken down and cast out of the Churches belonging to his Diocess, and broke them to pieces.

This Instance of the Zeal of *Serenus*, for the purity of the Christian Worship, was so ill received at *Rome*, and his Reasons so little considered, that notwithstanding the fore-said Miscarriage, and the visible danger which attended the indulging the new Converts in their ancient Usages: In the compass of this Year *Gregory* not only blamed the Conduct of *Serenus*, but sent the fore-said Instructions by *Mellitus* to *Austin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and as his Epistles to *Serenus*, and *Mellitus* bear date the same Year, so are his Advices bottomed on Reasons of the same kind. He tells *Serenus*, that he should not have broken down their Images, lest by so doing, or by his not suffering them to be introduced into Churches he should prejudice the Pagans (amongst whom

whom he lived) against the Christian Religion (*a*); and indeed thus much is evident, that the Pagans, whose Rites were in every thing else very different, universally agreed in the use of Images, in their Worship, or some other Symbol and visible Representation. And as the continuance of this usage would probably bring them more easily to submit to the Christian Worship, so it doubtless made it much more difficult to raise their Minds to a just Idea of the Divine Being; or to carry their Worship beyond the visible Object.

So that when one reflects on the state of the Western Nations, and judges of the Rules of their Conversion, by the Conduct and Directions of *Gregory*, the occasions of the Errors and Corruptions in the Western Church, lie as open and visible as the Inundations and Ravages of the Northern People on the Western Empire; for they who brought this rude People into the Church, suffered them to bring a great share of their ancient Errors and Usages along with them; and indeed no good can ever be expected, when Men pretend to serve God, by disobeying Him, and presume to do Evil that Good may come.

SECT. XI. Whereas in the first Conversions of the Nations, by the Apostles, and their immediate Followers, the greatest care was used, not only to bring the Converts to a just Idea of the Gospel Revelation, and conduct their Devotions by the general Rules thereof; but as far as it was possible to leave no footsteps of the Pagan Worship; and upon this Ground, the use of Images, and the Rites of the ancient Gentile Worship, were entirely banished, and a plainness and simplicity, suited to the Worship of God in Spirit and Truth generally introduced; and great Marks of this primitive Plainness appear in the Worship of the *British* and *Scots*, at the time of *Austin's* coming; whereas in that Worship which *Austin* introduced, and which had been fitted for the Northern People, who in this and in two preceding Ages had been brought into the Church, there appears abundance of new Rites, and Pomp and Ceremonies, which the *British* and *Scots* were utterly unacquainted with; and this Consideration seems to have occasioned the mighty aversion of the *British*, *Scots*, and *Picts* to the *Saxon* Worship, and those who came from *Rome* to introduce it.

H

For

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 4.

Usque hodie moris sit
Britonum, fidem Religio-
nemque Anglorum, pro ni-
hilo habere, neque in ali-
quo eis magis communicare
quam Paganis. Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 20.

For their not submitting to the Jurisdiction *Austin* pretended to, they had Reasons of another kind, and which will be considered in the proper place; but such was the aversion the Scotch Christians shewed to all Communion with those that came from *Rome*, that *Dagamus*, a Scotch Bishop, refused not only to eat with them, but so much as to lodge with them in the same House; (a) and so general was the aversion of the British Christians, to the Doctrine and Worship planted amongst the English, by *Austin* and his Followers; and to such degrees did it arise, that in the Year 633, which was about thirty six Years after the first Conversions by *Austin*, *Bede* saith,

To this day the Britons continue such aversion to the Faith and Worship of the English, that they make no account thereof, and will no more Communicate with them than with Pagans.

And he that will ascribe all this to the different manner of observing the *Easter* Festival, must have a very contemptible Idea of all that were concerned in this Quarrel.

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(b) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 12.
Epist. 15.
(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
Cap. 29.

SECT. XII. Having viewed the Directions which *Gregory* gave for the change of the Pagan to Christian Usages, it will be needful to return, and consider the Model he sent over to *Austin*, for the Government of the English Saxon Church. The Epistle that contains this Model, is, by the Editor of *Gregory's* Epistles, plac'd under the seventh Year of the Indiction, and the Year of our Lord 604 (b): But that in *Bede* (c), which is doubtless the same Epistle, bears date three Years sooner: And this answers to the coming of *Mellitus* into Britain, and the many Epistles sent by *Gregory* on that occasion. *Austin* having receiv'd Consecration from the Archbishop of *Arles*, *Gregory* resolved to honour him with the Character of an Archbishop; and, as a mark and acknowledgment thereof, at the coming of *Mellitus* into Britain, in the Year 601, sent him over a Pall; and together with that a Model or Platform of the Government he was to establish in the English Church; wherein, in consideration of the Merit of *Austin*, he was constituted Primate of the English Church; and had a Power given him to erect another Metropolitcal See at *York*; but with subordination to him as Primate of the English.

Gregory

Gregory further directed, that the two Metropolitans should each of them have twelve Suffragan Bishops, within their respective Provinces: But at the Death of *Austin*, that the Metropolitcal See should be removed from *Canterbury* to *London*; and that after that remove the Primacy settled on the Person of *Austin* should cease; and the Archbishops of *London* and *York* take place according to the Priority of their Consecration.

SECT. XIII. As for the *British* Clergy, that Model subjects them, as Gregory had done in another Rescript, to the Jurisdiction and Authority of *Austin*. When one compares these Epistles of Gregory, with those which upon his first advancement to the See of *Rome*, he wrote to the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and other Bishops of the Catholick Church; and the solemn Profession he therein makes, that he received the Faith and Canons of the four first Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, with the veneration with which he received the four Gospels of the Evangelists (a); and considers the Zeal and Warmth with which he opposed the Pretensions of his Friend and Confident *John*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to the Name and Title of Universal Bishop (b), assuming to himself the Title of *Servant to the Servants of God* (c). One finds it very difficult to reconcile Gregory's professions and shews of Humility, and zeal for the Canons, to that Authority he assumed in his Instructions to *Austin*, and in the Model he sent over to *England*.

(a) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 1.
Epist. 24.

(b) Greg. Ep.
Lib. 4. Ep. 32,
34, 36.

(c) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 4.
Epist. 32.

Thus much is evident, past all possibility of Dispute, from the Epistles of Gregory, that the pretence to an universal Pastorship, by a Divine Right, was not so much as thought of at *Rome* in his Time; and it is as evident from his Writings, that the Canons of the Church were yet thought the measure of the Patriarchal Power; so that it is very odd and surprizing, to see this great Prelate, at the same time, breaking and asserting the Authority of the Canons. The pretence of those who justify him upon the Patriarchal Power shall be consider'd in another place.

SECT. XIV. But if the Conduct of Gregory be excusable, it is not by the late pretence to an universal Pastorship, nor that of his Patriarchal Power; for it is certain, that the first was then unknown, and the latter had

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had not extended it self to *Britain*: But there is this to be said, that the case of the *English* Church seems to lie without the Provision of the Canons, which had confined their care to established Churches, but left Churches unformed, to the Prudence and Charity of those who should be the happy Instruments in converting Pagan Nations; and tho' this was not directly the case of the *British*, yet it was a reasonable presumption, that in time their Church would follow the fate of their Country.

So that the appointment of *Gregory* in this particular, seems to be no other, than what the natural course of things would have produc'd, had he spared his Directions; and however new this thought may seem, yet the event will shew, that the *English*, as well as the *Britons*, acted as if they had been acquainted with no other Authority, but what arose from the Wisdom and Charity of that Prelate. But if they knew any thing of the universal Pastorship, or of a Patriarchal Power, which extended to these Nations, it is plain, they acted as if they had been entirely Strangers to all pretensions of that kind.

For thus much is evident, that the *Britons* did, in the most solemn and most publick manner that was possible, disavow the Authority of *Gregory*; and the *English* did not go one step further in the pursuit thereof, than they were led to it by their Convenience or Interest, but for the most part acted contrary to it in every Instance. Tho' *Gregory* appointed that the See of the first Metropolitan should, upon the Death of *Austin*, be removed to *London*; yet *Canterbury* retains the Honour to this Day, and the Bishops of *London* have been almost ever since Suffragans to the Prelates of that See; and the priority of Consecration, never gave the Archbishops of *York* precedence to those of *Canterbury*, till the See of *York* fell into the hands of Men who had so much Ambition, and so little Wisdom, as to fight for precedence.

Nor were his Directions, as to the number of Suffragans, one jot better obeyed, for it was almost one Age before the Archbishops of *Canterbury* were generally owned as Primates of the *English* Church, and near five Ages before their Authority was generally received by the *Britons*; besides, it was long before the Archbishops of

of *Canterbury* came to have twelve Suffragans, but the Province of *York* has never obtained half that number to this Day. But from this general view it is time to return to review the particulars of these Affairs in the order which they possess in the following Story.

CHAP. III.

Ab Anno 601 ad Annum 633.

SECT. I. **A**ustin attempts to oblige the Britons to own his Authority, and obtains a Conference in order thereunto, is unsuccessful.

SECT. II. A second Conference with the Britons.

SECT. III. Terms of Union offered to the Britons. Austin's undecent Behaviour. The Account the British Writers give of this Conference. The Authority of Austin rejected by the British Bishops: The Reasons thereof. The British Church continues its independance on the Archbishops of Canterbury.

SECT. IV. Pretences of the Writers of the Romish Church, to palliate the Britons rejecting the Authority of Pope Gregory: The Truth thereof owned by Baronius. The Conduct of the Britons justified, by the Canons and Usages of the Catholick Church.

SECT. V. The Massacre of the British Clergy: This ascribed to Austin: The grounds of that Charge. Austin said by some Writers to go to York, and baptize some of the Northern English: The grounds of that and other Mistakes concerning Austin.

SECT. VI. Austin consecrates three new Bishops. The Death of Austin: The difference about the time thereof. Part of the Kingdom of Kent only Converted by him. The state of the Church at his Death.

SECT. VII. Laurentius succeeds Austin, follows his Steps, attempts to bring the Scots and Britons to own his Authority, is unsuccessful. The Scottish Clergy refuse all Conversation with the Romish Missionaries.

SECT. VIII. The People of Essex and Middlesex converted by Mellitus. His See fixed at London. A Cathedral Church dedicated to St. Paul there built. Boni-

face, Bishop of Rome, obtains the Title of Universal Bishop. The Gospel makes no progress in England.

SECT. IX. Ethelbert dies, and Paganism revives in Kent. Mellitus driven from his See. The People of Essex and Middlesex cast off their Christianity. The Missionaries despair of preserving the new Church, and agree to leave England and return to Rome. The Bishops of London and Rochester fly to France.

SECT. X. Laurentius Archbishop of Canterbury prepares to leave England, is prevented by a pretended Vision, converts the new King of Kent, and brings back part of the People of that Kingdom to the Christian Faith. The Bishops of London and Rochester are recalled from France. The People of London return to their Idolatry, refuse to receive their Bishop. The sad state of the Church at the Death of Laurentius Archbishop of Canterbury.

SECT. XI. Mellitus made Archbishop of Canterbury. Paulinus made a Bishop, and sent to the Court of the King of Northumberland: The occasion thereof: He baptizes the Daughter of that Prince.

SECT. XII. Edwin, King of the Northumbrians, converted: The Means and Consequences thereof. The People of York, and a great part of the North follow his Example. An Episcopal See founded at York: Paulinus made Bishop thereof. Honorius, Bishop of Rome, sends him a Pall, and pretended to make him an Archbishop.

SECT. XIII. The King of the East-Angles is converted; and with them part of Norfolk and Suffolk. Some parts of Lincolnshire converted by Paulinus. Honorius, Archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated at Lincoln.

SECT. XIV. The People of the North return to Idolatry. Paulinus, their Bishop, flies to Kent, and is made Bishop of Rochester.

SECT. XV. The People of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire relapse to Paganism.

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SECT. I. **A**ustin having received the 'foresaid Powers and Instructions from Gregory, presently applied himself to put them into practice; and the Britons were the first subject of his Care, whether it was, that the enlarging of his own Authority and of the Authority

thority of him that sent him, by the submission of the *British Church*, being thought of greater moment than the enlarging the Kingdom of *Christ*, by the conversion of the Pagan *English*, gave beginning to this Zeal of *Austin*? or whether it was the Interest of the Prince who had received him into his Dominions, and would doubtless have found his Account in it, had the *Britons* submitted to the Archbishop of his Kingdom? These are Questions which the conduct of *Austin* would very naturally lead one to: And the Ambition and Vanity of the Man, and the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, had so visible an Interest in the Zeal of that Prelate, as would almost tempt one to think it was some such consideration gave beginning to it.

But whatever his Views were, having the Favour and Interest of *Ethelbert*, he made use of them to obtain a Conference with the *Britons* in the Year 601. Their Meeting-Place was from thence, in after-times, called *Augustinsac*, or *Austin's-Oak*, in the confines of the *Wiccii* and *West-Saxons*. The Council being assembled, *Austin* proposed, first, that the *Britons* should embrace the unity of the Catholick Church, and then join with them in preaching to the *English*. *Bede* saith of the *Britons*, they did many things contrary to the unity of the Church, besides their not observing the Feast of *Easter* in a due manner (a); so that however reasonable the first proposition of *Austin* may appear at first sight, upon a just consideration thereof it appears a very artful and comprehensive Article, and such as must necessarily draw after it consequences of the first moment to the *British Church*; and therefore, after all the Perswasions, the Arts and Reproaches of *Austin*, and, as *Bede* saith, a miraculous curing of a Blind Man, to prove the Authority of his Traditions, this Meeting came to no other Issue but this, that the *Britons* would advise upon what had passed, and give *Austin* a second Meeting.

SECT. II. The *Britons* being returned, and having considered the importance of the Matter, with the application it deserved, they could not but be sensible, that the Honour and Interest of King *Ethelbert* were concerned in the success of it; and that their refusal might possibly draw the resentment of that Prince upon them; and this consideration, together with the guilt of Schism, which

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 2.*

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which the consequence of *Austin's* Arguments charged upon them, did deserve their serious deliberation, nor were they wanting therein; but, as *Bede* observes, after the matter had been well considered amongst themselves, they applied themselves to an Anchorite of great reputation among them for his Holiness and Wisdom, and inquired of him whether they ought to quit the Customs of their Ancestors, and submit to *Austin*? to which he answered, that if *Austin* was a Man of God, they ought to follow him: And when the *Britons* replied, how should they know whether he was a Man of God? he answered, they should judge of his Character by the Temper and Conduct of the Man that supported it; if he was Meek and Humble, he was the Disciple of him who had taught Men to know his Yoke by the Meekness and Humility of those that bore it: And further added, that by the condescension and gentleness with which he treated them, they should judge of his Temper and Spirit.

After some time thus spent, seven of the *British* Bishops, together with *Dinoth*, Abbot of *Bangor*, and many other very learned Men, came at Time and Place appointed, to give *Austin* a second Meeting (a).

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.*

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SECT. III. The *Britons* having so contrived it, that *Austin* should be seated in the place of Meeting, before they entred, *Austin* did not so much as rise from his Seat to receive them, which, as *Bede* adds, raised the Resentment of the *Britons* so far, that they set themselves to oppose the Arguments of *Austin* and his Followers. However, after some time spent to no purpose, *Austin* thus addressed himself to the *Britons*.

In many things, saith he, you act contrary to our Customs, and indeed to the Usages of the universal Church; notwithstanding if ye will obey me in these three things, viz. in observing the Easter-Festival after our manner. 2. Using the same Rites and Ceremonies in Baptism, which are used by the Holy Roman Church, and by the Apostolick Church. 3. And join with us in preaching to the English; in other things, which ye do contrary to our Customs, we will bear with you. To all which the *Britains* answered, That they would not comply with him in any one of these Particulars, nor own him for their Archbishop. To whom *Austin* replied, with Threats, That if they would not accept of Peace from their Brethren, they must expect War from their
Ene-

Enemies; and if they would not preach the Word of Life to the English, they should suffer Death by their hands.

This is the Account that *Bede* gives of this Affair (a), but it is well observed, by a late learned and judicious Prelate from *Leland* (b), that the *British* Writers give a more ample account of this Matter than is extant in *Bede*, who is thought to be very sparing in what concerns the *British* Affairs: But from the *British* Writers *Leland* observes, That *Dinoth* did at large dispute with great Learning and Gravity against the receiving the Authority of the Pope, or of *Augustin*, and defended the Power of the Archbishop of *St. David's*; and affirmed it not for the *British* Interest, to own either the Roman Pride, or the Saxon Tyranny (c); and that they knew of no Obedience due to him that *Augustin* called the Pope, but what they owed to every Christian; for the *British* Bishops had no superior but the Bishop of *Caerleon upon Uske* (d). And *Giraldus Cambrensis*, though a wonderful Zealot for the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, has not only observ'd, (e) that *Bede* has no where mentioned any submission of the *British* Churches to *Austin* or his Successors, though constituted Metropolitans thereof by the Bishops of *Rome*; but has given such proof, that the *British* Church was, for several Ages after the coming of *Austin*, govern'd by its own Metropolitans, without so much as owning the Primacy of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*; and his Proofs are so well ascertained by Matters of Fact, that there seems no ground to doubt, but that Church continued its freedom and independance till a change in the Affairs of the *British* Nation did, in after Ages, bring both their Church and State to submit to the *English* Establishment.

SECT. IV. These Accounts lie so cross to the Sentiments of those Men, who have formed a Judgment of the ancient Rights of the Bishops of *Rome*, from the Power they have of late possessed, or pretended to, that as the 'foresaid learned and judicious Prelate has observ'd, (f) great Pains have been taken to obscure or pervert them. Sometimes they pretend, that *Gregory* did not give *Austin* Power over the *British* Church: Sometimes, that he did not insist upon it (g): Sometimes they quarrel the Manuscript from whence part of this Account is taken. But when all is said, *Baronius*, according to

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 2.

(b) Antiquit.
Brit. Ch.
cap. 5. p. 359.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Consil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 108.

(e) Angliæ Sac.
Part II, pag.
542, & 543.

(f) Antiquit.
Brit. Church,
pag. 358.

(g) Ibid.

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
604.

his way of speaking, says, that the *Britons* and *Scots* had lived in a long continued Schism, (a) that is, according to his notion of Schism, long before the coming of *Austin*, they had held no external Communion with the Church of *Rome*; or, in other words, they had never thought themselves within the Patriarchate of the Bishops of *Rome*, and had never owned the Jurisdiction of those Prelates, but governed themselves by their own Metropolitans, as the whole Catholick Church had done before the Patriarchal Institution.

And nothing is more manifest, than that this was the case of the whole Catholick Church, before the institution of Patriarchs; and continued after to be the case of all those Churches which lay without the Bounds of the new Patriarchates; and, in particular, it is as evident, that this was the case of the *British*, *Scotish*, and *Gallick* Churches, as it is, that the Council of *Ephesus* allowed the continuance of this Government to the *Cyprian* Churches in particular.

And it is no less evident, that that Council allowed the same liberty to all those Churches which were not, at the time of that Council, within the Bounds of the new Patriarchates. And indeed, *Baronius* could have no other reason for charging the *Britons* and *Scots* with a long Schism, if their independance on the Church of *Rome* had not been at least as ancient as the Council of *Ephesus*; for that Council was held about the Year 431, which was but about 166 Years before the coming of *Austin*, during which time, there is so little appearance of any communion or correspondence betwixt the *British*, *Scotish*, and *Roman* Churches, that we are not to wonder, if *Baronius* charge the *Britons* with a long Schism.

But there is great reason to wonder at the Confidence or Ignorance of those later Writers, who, after *Baronius* his Account of a lasting Schism, pretend to tell us, that the *Britons* did not disown the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*: But if the Authority of *Baronius*, the Account of *Bede*, the Epistles of *Gregory* and the *British* Writers, were capable of being denied or misunderstood, the Synodical Epistle of *Laurentius*, Successor to *Austin*, (b) and the whole series and course of the following Transactions, betwixt the Missionaries on one hand, and the *British*

Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 4.

British and Scottish Churches on the other, put it past all dispute, that the setting up a Foreign Jurisdiction on the one side, and opposing it on the other, was the chief subject of the present and following Controversies.

S E C T. V. Immediately after the Account of the fore-
said Conference. *Bede* adds, that *Edilfride*, a King of the *English*, gathering a great Army, fell upon the *Britons* near to *Caerleon*, and not only routed, and made great slaughter of the British Army, but fell upon their Priests and Monks, who, after three Days Fasting and Prayer were come into the Field; and, at some distance from the Army were praying for their Success, and put twelve hundred of them to the Sword (a); and this, faith he, came to pass just as *Austin* had foretold.

Anno
604.

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 2.*

This Relation has given occasion to some to think, that *Augustin* having miscarried in the hopes he had conceived of bringing the *Britons* to own his Authority, laid it so to Heart, that he formed that design, which ended in this dreadful slaughter of the British People; and in particular of the Monks of *Bangor*, who had distinguished themselves in opposing his Pretences; and the Threats of that Prelate used to the *Britons*, in the fore-
said Conference, his natural Haughtiness, and the immediate subjoining of the Massacre of the British, to the Conference in the History of *Bede*, have inclined some Men to believe, that this Prelate could be guilty of so prodigious a wickedness.

But though his rash and unwarrantable Menaces be without excuse, yet, since there is great probability on the side of that Opinion, that this Affair happened after the Death of *Augustin*, and the late learned and judicious Antiquary Mr. *Wharton* (b) is very warm and positive in this Opinion, and gives some Reasons to prove, that *Austin* died in the Year 604, and that the slaughter of the *Britons* was not till some Years after. I shall only add to what he has said, that *Edilfride*, by whom the British Clergy were thus treated, was King of the Northern *English*, and, in all probability, intirely unknown to *Austin*; and then I willingly yield to the side of Charity, and leave the slaughter of that miserable People amongst the Secrets of his Providence, whose Ways are unsearchable, and whose Judgments are past finding out.

(b) *Angliae Sacrae. Pars I. p. 91.*

But

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
604. N. 65.

But whilst this sad Scene remains a Secret to all the rest of the World, *Baronius* (a) speaks of it with such degrees of assurance, as if he had seen the secret Spring by which it was moved: It happened, saith that Writer, to the *Britons*, by the *English*, as it did to the *Africans* by the *Vandals*, to the *Spaniards* by the *Saracens*, and to the *Eastern People* by the *Barbarians*, when they departed from the Church of *Rome*. How much had the World been obliged by such surprising penetration of Mind, had this great Man proceeded in his Discoveries; and whilst he was revealing the Secrets of God, let us into the reason of the Inundations of the Northern People, and of the havock and devastation they made through the Western Churches? in particular, Why God suffered the *Goths* to take *Rome* it self, to massacre the Bishops and Clergy thereof, and unfold the reason of the infinite Mischiefs that Church suffered under the *Arrian* Emperors, the *Lombards*, and not long before this Affair of the *Britons*, under a succession of *Gothick* Kings in *Italy*, for near a hundred Years together? but that whilst these things remain Secrets, that Learned Prelate should be able to say, it was the Schism of the *Britons* which occasioned their Ruine, is a Mystery that would almost tempt one to think, that he knew more of that Affair, than was consistent with the Honour of *Austin* to be made publick. But I shall leave this Affair in his hands to whom nothing is hid, and return to that which is said to have occasioned it; *Austin's* ill Success at the Conference with the *Britons*.

(b) Goscelin.
Anglia Sacra.
Part II. pag.
66, & 67.

(c) Birching.
Anglia Sacra.
Part I. p. 1.

Ranulp.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 227.

(d) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.

cap. 9.

(e) Nenni
Hist. Britan.

XV. Script.
p. 114 & 117.

Some of the Writers of *Austin's* Life tell us, that after the forefaid Conference with the *Britons*, *Austin* and his Followers went away to *York*, (b) and on *Christmas-Day* following, in the River of *Swale*, baptized ten thousand Persons (c); and agreeably hereunto they have covered all his Road with Miracles: But, after all, if we may rely on the Authority of *Bede*, the Story and Miracles have the same original, but not the least appearance of Truth; for *Bede* (d) and *Nennius* (e) agree, that *Eanfled*, or *Elfled*, Daughter of *Edwin* King of the *Northumbrians*, was the first Person of the *Northumbrians* that was baptized; and it is very evident, and shall be made appear, in its proper place, that that Princess was not born, nor her Mother married till some Years after the Death of

of *Austin*: And indeed, it is manifest, that what the 'foresaid Writers say of *Austin's* baptizing in the River of *Swale*, is no other than a confusion of what *Gregory*, in his Epistle to *Eulogius*, (a) saith of *Austin's* baptizing the Inhabitants of *Kent*, with what *Bede* (b) and *Nennius* (c) say of *Paulinus's* baptizing the *Northumbrians*; the former about the Year 597, the latter about the Year 627.

(a) *Gregor. Epist. Lib. 7. Epist. 30.*
(b) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.*
(c) *Nennii Hist. Brit. XV. Scriptor. pag. 114.*

So that those Accounts of the 'foresaid Writers seem equally injurious to the Truth, and to the Missionaries from *Rome*: And yet some of our Writers are so fond of such groundless Tales, that *Ranulphus* from *Malmshury* gives us such another Story of *Austin's* baptizing near the place where the Abby of *Cernelle* was afterwards built in *Dorsetshire*; and saith, from that Writer, that in order to the said Baptism, by the efficacy of his Prayers, *Austin* miraculously gave beginning to the Fountain wherein that Office was performed: (d) And yet one has much ado to forbear thinking, that this Story is nothing else but a Scene of Invention, owing to the Monks of that Abby.

(d) *Polychron. Lib. 5. XV. Scriptor. pag. 255.*

At least thus much is evident, that *Bede*, who seems to have a particular Passion for the Honour of *Austin*, is not only silent in this Affair, but saith, that the *West-Saxons* were not converted till the coming of *Birinus*, (e) who came not into *England* till about twenty Years after the Death of *Austin*: And yet that Writer (f) and the *Saxon Chronicle* agree, (g) that *Birinus* not only found that People in their Paganism, but that *Birinus* was the first Person that preached the Gospel to them (h), and which makes the Zeal of that Prelate still brighter: *Bede* saith, (i) that the very reason which moved him to go to the West of *England*, was, that he might have the Honour of being the first Person who had preached the Gospel to that Kingdom. The same Spirit of Vanity possessed the Monks of *Ely*, who, to magnifie the Antiquity of that Foundation, endeavoured to possess the World with a belief, that *Austin* was the first Founder of their Monastery, in the Year 607: (k) And yet 'tis very evident, that the whole Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, of which the Isle of *Ely* was a part, continued in Paganism till after the Death of *Austin*. Nor is the Legendary Writer of *Austin's* Life content to confine the glory of that Prelate to the bounds of *England*, but carries

(e) *Bede. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 7.*
(f) *Ibid.*
(g) *Chron. Saxon. An. 634.*
(h) *Ibid.*
(i) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 7.*
(k) *Histor. Eliensis. Ang. Sac. Par. I. pag. 594.*

(a) Goscelin.
Vit. August.
Angl. Sac.
Par. II. p. 69.

him also into *Scotland*, and has oblig'd the World with an account of the Profelites he made there (a) : And this is as true as the preceding Accounts of him : And if *America* had been known time enough, he might, upon as good ground, have made him the Apostle of the *Indies*, as a Preacher to the *Scots*.

Anno

604.

(b) Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Lib. 2.
cap. 3.

(c) Ang. Sac.
Par. I. p. 91.

SECT. VI. But all that we can depend upon, after this unsuccessful Conference, is, that *Austin* in the Year 604 consecrated three Bishops, viz. *Mellitus*, to preach to the *East-Saxons* ; *Iustus*, to be Bishop of *Rochester*, within the Kingdom of *Kent* ; and *Laurentius* to succeed him in the See of *Canterbury* (b). This was then the State of the *Saxon Church* at the Death of *Austin*, whether we place his Death in the Year 604, as Mr. *Wharton* (c) ; in the Year 607, as *Mabillon*, or some Years later, as some other Writers have done. A great part of the Kingdom of *Kent* had received the Christian Faith : The Cathedrals of *Canterbury* and *Rochester* were begun ; and some other Churches, founded by the *Britons*, were repaired ; and some Provisions made for the Education and Subsistence of the Clergy : All which was chiefly owing to the Piety and Magnificence of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* ; and the Zeal and Labours of *Austin* and his Followers.

But as to all the rest of the *English Nation*, there does not appear the least Step made towards their Conversion, before the Death of *Austin*, unless the Consecration of *Mellitus*, who was afterwards sent to the *East-Saxons*, ought to be so accounted.

Anno

604.

SECT. VII. Thus then stood the Affairs of the *English Saxon Church*, at the Death of *Austin* ; and it is agreed on all hands, that *Laurentius* succeeded him ; tho' our Historians are at odds about the time of his Advancement : But thus much is past dispute, that he came to that See whilst *Ethelbert* continued King of *Kent* ; and this rendred *Gregory's* Model of the *English Church*, on a double account, impracticable ; for *London* was yet unconverted ; and had it been otherwise, *Ethelbert*, doubtless, would not have suffered the See of *Canterbury* to be removed out of the bounds of his Kingdom, nor his Bishops to submit to a Metropolitan, whose Seat was in the Dominions of another Prince.

And

And therefore *Laurentius* continued the Chair at *Canterbury*; and as he followed *Austin* herein, so he imitated the Methods of his Zeal; and was no sooner seated, but he resumed the Attempt of *Austin*, and applied himself to bring the *Britons* and the *Scots* to change their ancient Usages, in celebrating the Feast of *Easter*; and in order thereunto sent Synodical Epistles, both to the *Scotch* and *British* Bishops, and Abbots, (a) but those succeeded no better than the Conference of *Austin*; but, on the contrary, the breach grew so wide, that the *Scotch* Christians refused all conversation with that Prelate, and the *Roman* Missionaries. (b)

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 4.

(b) Ibid.

SECT. VIII. But the Interest of *Ethelbert*, and the Blessing of God on the Labours of *Mellitus*, made the Missionaries more successful in an Affair that better merited their Care, their Zeal, and their Prayers; and this was the conversion of the *East-Saxons*, inhabiting the Counties of *Essex* and *Middlesex*. *Seber*, Sisters Son to *Ethelbert*, was at that time King of the *East-Saxons*; he was a tributary Prince to his Uncle *Ethelbert*, (c) and by his Influence and Example so well disposed to receive the Christian Religion, that in the Year 604 *Mellitus* was consecrated Bishop by *Austin*, that under the advantage of that Character he might be better fitted for the Conversion of the *East-Saxons*: And the same Year he was sent to the Court of King *Seber*, (d) who, together with multitudes of his Subjects, received the Christian Religion, and were baptized. And a new Bishoprick was founded, and the Seat thereof fixed at *London*, by the appointment of *Ethelbert* (e). And by his Munificence and Charity, the foundation of a Cathedral Church, by the Name of *St. Paul's*, was begun. (f)

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 3.

(d) Chron.
Saxon. An. 604.

(e) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 3.
Et Chron. Sax.
An. 604.

(f) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 3.

Whilst these things were transacting in *Britain*, *Gregory* the Great, *Sabinian*, and *Boniface* the Third, his immediate Successors died; and about the Year 606 *Boniface* the Fourth possessed himself of their Chair, and of the pompous Title of Universal Bishop, which his immediate Predecessors had first obtained from the Emperor *Phocas*, and which *Gregory* the Great had, but a very few Years before so loudly exclaimed against. During the Time of *Boniface*, and about the Year 610, *Mellitus*, the new Bishop of *London* went to *Rome*, to concert with *Boniface* the Affairs of the *English* Church, (g) and re-

(g) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
Cap. 4.

turned

turned with Letters from that Prelate to *Ethelbert*.

But it seems, by the following Story, that notwithstanding the Zeal and Vigour with which *Ethelbert* and *Seber*, and the Missionaries, carried on the Christian Interest, that it went on but very heavily ; and if it made any further progress before the Death of those Princes, *Bede* has passed it over in silence, and we hear no more of the growth of that new Church, till a new Cloud overspread it, and the Enemies to the Truth bid fair for the intire extirpation of the new-planted Church and Gospel of Christ.

Anno

613.

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 5.

SECT. IX. For *Ethelbert* died the beginning of this Year (a), and his Nephew *Seber* not long after, and they being the great supports of the Christian Interest, upon the Death of those Princes every thing ran into confusion, Paganism revived again, and made so bold an effort, as at once overwhelmed the Christian Church, and the Zeal and Courage of those who should have supported it ; for *Eadbald*, Son and Successor to *Ethelbert*, either had not been converted to the Christian Faith, or if he had, upon his coming to the Crown, he renounced it. (b)

(b) Ibid.

And that his Wickedness might bear proportion to his Apostacy, he married the Wife of his Father, and having given liberty to restore the Pagan Worship (c), those whom the fear of *Ethelbert* had brought to profess Christ, (d) did, by inclination, follow the Example of their new Prince ; and notwithstanding all the Address and Zeal of the Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, and their Clergy, the Apostacies of their People were very numerous, and the Christian Church, in the Kingdom of *Kent*, reduced to circumstances very sad and deplorable. The case of the *East-Saxon* Church was, if possible, still sadder ; for *Seber* left three Sons, who succeeded in that Kingdom, but had never been converted to the Christian Faith (e) ; and they not only refused to be baptized, upon the sollicitation of *Mellitus*, but treated the most sacred Offices of Religion with the utmost contempt and scorn (f), and, after some time, drove *Mellitus* out of their Kingdom (g) ; and the Church being yet new and unsettled, the Flock was quickly and easily scattered when the Shepherd was fled.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid.

The

The Condition of the Church of *Kent*, tho' very deplorable, was not so sad as that of the *East-Saxons*, Christianity was there of older growth, and better rooted, and was not so easily dispossessed; and therefore *Mellitus*, the exiled Bishop of *London*, fled thither, and after consultation with *Laurentius* the Archbishop, and *Justus* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, it was concluded, by common consent, that it was in vain to struggle against the Apostacy that was every where broke in upon the Church, with a force not to be resisted; and therefore it was resolved that they would all leave *Britain*, and return to *Rome* again, (a) and in pursuance of this Resolution *Mellitus* and (a) *Ibid.* *Justus* presently withdrew, and went over to *France*. (b) (b) *Ibid.*

SECT. X. The Archbishop *Laurentius* had a little more resolution, but not so much as his Character, and the cause of God required from him; for tho' he staid behind them, it seems to be chiefly to prepare the better for his departure; but having prepared for his departure, the Night before he was to go, he fixed upon a new and surprizing way of taking leave of his Church, and having caused his Bed to be laid in his Cathedral Church, he took up his Lodging there; during the Night, as *Bede* saith, (c) *St. Peter* appeared to him, and (c) *Bede* *Eccles. Hist.* *Lib. 2. cap. 6.* having reproach'd him for his Cowardice, he so scourg'd the Shoulders of that Prelate, as to leave some Marks of his Lashes upon his Body; with which, saith the same Historian, he went the next Day to the King; and having shewed him what he had suffered, so wrought upon that Prince; that he presently changed both his Faith and Morals, and became at once a Christian and a new Man. (d) (d) *Ibid.*

Whether this Miracle, as *Bede* calls it, be owing to God, or the Age, I shall leave others to judge; and return to that which cannot be the subject of dispute. *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*, renounced his Idolatry, and his Incestuous Marriage, and, turning Christian, gave all encouragement to the Affairs of the Church (e); (e) *Ibid.* and as this gave a check to the growth of Paganism, so it lent new Zeal and Courage to the despairing Archbishop, and new Life to the Christian Cause.

Eadbald, King of *Kent*, being thus converted, sent to *France*, to recall *Mellitus* and *Justus* (f), who, about (f) *Ibid.* a Year after their flight, returned to *England* again (g); (g) *Ibid.*

and the See of *Rochester* lying within the Kingdom of *Kent*, the King restored *Justus* to his See (a); but all the Interest he had was not sufficient to restore *Mellitus*; for the *Londoners*, who were now universally returned to their old Idolatry, would not suffer the restoration of their Bishop (b); and *Eadbald* had not power enough to restore him without their consent (c). In this low condition continued the *English Church*, till the Death of *Laurentius*, about the Year 619.

SECT. XI. *Mellitus*, who, from the time of his return from *France*, had lived as a private Man, on the Death of *Laurentius* immediately succeeded him in the See of *Canterbury*; in which station he continued about five Years, and then dying, *Justus*, Bishop of *Rochester*, succeeded him; the *English Church* being all this while confined to *Kent*; but, during his Government, God opened a way to enlarge the pale of the Church; the occasion this: *Edwin*, who was at this time King of the *Northumbrians*, and the most powerful of the *Saxon Princes*, but yet a Pagan, did, about the Year 625, marry *Edelberge*, Daughter of *Ethelbert*, and Sister of *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*. (d)

(d) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 2.
cap. 9.

Amongst other Articles of Marriage it was agreed, that *Tate* or *Edelberg*, for by both these Names she was called, who had, from her Infancy, been bred a Christian, should be allowed the publick exercise of her Religion (e); and therefore *Paulinus*, being consecrated Bishop this Year, was sent to attend that Princess to the North (f); in which station that Prelate continued, but without any success in his Ministry (g), till the Queen was the Year following brought to Bed of a Daughter; about which time a Conspiracy was formed against the Life of the King, and an attempt was made to assassinate him, in which attempt the King was dangerously wounded, but recovered of his Wounds.

These circumstances having prepared his Mind, by calling him to reflect on the uncertainty of Life, and the certainty of a State to come, he gave some hopes of his becoming a Christian; and, as an evidence of this disposition, he consented to the Baptism of his Daughter, who was baptized by *Paulinus*, by the Name of *Eanfled* (h); and, to make that more memorable, twelve of her Family and Attendance were baptized with her.

(h) Hist.

This

This Princess was the first Person of the *Northumbrian* People that was baptized. (a)

(a) Ibid.

SECT. XII. It appears that the Queen was not wanting, on her part, to bring over the King to the Christian Faith; and, amongst others, *Boniface IV*, Bishop of *Rome*, had a considerable part therein; for by an Epistle wrote to the King he shewed him the folly of the Pagan Worship, and endeavoured to raise his Mind to a just sense of the Divine Being, and give him a true Idea both of the nature and beauty of Religion (b).

Anno 627.

Paulinus was not wanting on his part; but, after all, the King remained fixed and unmovable from the Usages of his Ancestors, for about two Years after the coming of *Paulinus*; but having, together with his Nobility, well weighed the reason and grounds of the Christian Religion, he was baptized at *York*, at *Easter*, in the Year 627 (c); and abundance of the Nobility and People followed his Example; and amongst them *Offrid* and *Eadfride*, two of his Sons by Queen *Bury*, a former Wife, and Daughter of *Ceorl*, a King of the *Mercians*: But *Nennius* adds to this account of *Bede*, and saith, that, together with *Edwin*, there were, in one Day, baptized twelve thousand Men (d). And for about six Years after the conversion of this Prince, things went on in this prosperous manner; during which time *Paulinus* brought over great numbers to the Faith of Christ.

(b) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 10.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Nennii Hist. Brit. XV. Scriptor. pag. 117.

Things being brought to this pass, *Edwin* founded an Episcopal See at *York*, and begun the foundation of a Cathedral there (e); and such hast did he make to do Honour to the See he had founded, that he sent to *Honorius*, Bishop of *Rome*, and received a Pall from him, and the Title of Metropolitan for *Paulinus* (f); and this before any other Episcopal See was planted within his Kingdom; a practise the Christian Church had been hitherto so little acquainted with, that this hasty Zeal, in applying the Title of Metropolitan to a Bishop who had yet no Suffragan, seems no other way excusable, than by the obligation it laid upon King *Edwin*, to hasten the general Conversion of his Subjects; and, by founding new Bishopricks, bring things to answer the Scheme, by which he seems to have acted in this Affair.

(e) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 14.

(f) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 17.

Anno 629. S E C T. XIII. Nor did the Kingdom, North of the River *Humber*, bound the Zeal of *Edwin*, for, by his Perswasions, *Carpuald*, Son of *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, become a Christian; and, by his Example, some parts of that Kingdom (a): Some parts of *Mercia* too tasted of *Edwin's* Zeal; for, by his Favour and Influence, *Paulinus* was brought to preach the Gospel to that part of *Lincolnshire* which borders upon the *Trent* and *Humber* (b); and, in the presence of that Prince *Paulinus* baptized great numbers in the River *Trent*; and, amongst other, the Præfect of the City of *Lincoln*, whose Name was *Blecca*, was converted (c); and such numbers in that City brought to the Christian Faith, that a Church was erected therein, for the publick exercise of their Religion (d), which some have conjectured to have stood upon, or near the Ground where the Church of *St. Paul's* now stands; and that it had, at first, the Name of *Paulinus*, to whom the Erectors of it owed their Conversion; but however that be, 'tis certain that Church was honoured with the Consecration of *Honorius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was consecrated therein by *Paulinus*, Archbishop of *York* (e), in the Year 631. And though there is not light enough to adjust the precise time of the 'forefaid Conversion of the People of *Lincolnshire*, thus much is evident, that this Conversion was betwixt the Years 627, when *Edwin* declared himself a Christian, and the Year 631, when the Consecration of *Honorius*, in the City of *Lincoln*, affords sufficient grounds to affirm, that a Christian Church was at that time settled therein; and which, next to the Blessing of God, seems to be chiefly owing to the Zeal of King *Edwin*, whose wise Conduct hath taught us what great things may be done by Princes that apply themselves to promote the Interests of Religion and Virtue.

Anno 633. S E C T. XIV. But God sees not with the Eyes of Men, nor suffers his Providence to be conducted by the measures of human Hopes or Wishes; for whilst the glorious Actions of that Prince, led all, that wished well to the Interests of Religion, to hope, that God would cover this Prince with his Hand, and with a steddy and unresisted Success, conduct the Interests of the Gospel, of a sudden, and for Reasons his Wisdom alone can penetrate, God, at once, put an end to the Life, and Glory, and

and great Undertakings of this Prince in the Year 633, (a) and by his Death Paganism did again break in upon, and overspread his Kingdom; for of those who were converted, some fell with *Edwin* in Battel, others relapsed; and those who continued steddy in their Faith were for the most part cut off by the Army of *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Cedwalla*, a King of the *Britons*, who having killed *Edwin* in Battel, and routed his Army, over-run his Kingdom, spared neither Sex, nor Age, and shewed no more regard to the Christians than the Pagan *Englisb*. (b)

(a) Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Lib. 2.
cap. 20.

(b) Ibid.

In short, *Edwin's* Family, and the Church in his Kingdom, were reduced to such circumstances, that the Queen, and her Children, and *Paulinus*, were forced to save their Lives, by flying away to *Kent* (c), where *Paulinus* was made Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and in which Station he continued till he died (d): And besides the Sorrows of his Exile, he had the mortification to see the Church he had planted ruined, whilst he was not in a possibility to relieve it.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

SECT. XV. The Interests of Christianity amongst the *East-Angles* had much the same Fate; for *Carpuald*, King thereof, who had been converted by King *Edwin*, being killed, that People generally returned to their Idolatry again (e). And it is not improbable, that Christianity had the same Fate in *Lincolnſhire*; for, tho' *Bede* does not plainly affirm it, yet he saith, that the Church built in *Lincoln* was in Ruines long before his Time (f): And yet it appears, that *Bede* was born about the Year 677; and that that Church was not built till after the Year 627; so that in all probability that decay was occasioned by the relapse of the People to Idolatry, and not the effect of Time.

(e) Bedæ.
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 15.

(f) Bedæ.
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 16.

C H A P. IV.

Ab Anno 633 ad Annum 664.

SECT. I. **T**HE Gospel preached to the Northern English, by the Scots and Picts: The occasion thereof. Paulinus never recalled. Aidan a Bishop sent from Ireland, made Bishop of the Kingdom of Northumberland. No regard had to the Model of Gregory.

II. The See of York removed to Lindisfarne. Aidan, and the Clergy from Ireland, imitate the plainness of the first Christians, and despise the Rites of the Romish Church. They set up Schools in the North, and by their Ministry the People, North of Humber, are generally converted.

III. Birinus preaches the Gospel to the West-Saxons. The occasion of his coming into England. The Bishoprick of Dorchester founded.

IV. Norfolk and Suffolk recoverd to the Christian Faith: The occasion thereof. A Bishops See planted at Dummock by Sigibert.

V. The University of Cambridge said to be founded by Sigibert, King of the East-Angles: The Grounds thereof.

VI. The ill success of the Missionaries. Idolatry forbid in Kent by a Law. The Reason of the ill success of the Missionaries. The ill consequence of their allowing the Pagan English the use of some of their ancient Customs.

VII. Sigibert, King of the East-Saxons, baptized by Finan a Scotchman. The People of Essex and Middlesex converted by the Scotch Clergy. A Bishop's See again restored to London, and Ceadda, a Scotchman, made Bishop thereof. The People of London, relapsed to Idolatry, reclaimed again.

VIII. All the Midland parts of England converted by the Northern English, and Scotch Clergy: The Circumstances thereof.

SECT.

SECT. IX. *The mighty Success they had; the Reasons thereof. Diuma, a Scotchman, made the first Bishop of Litchfield.*

X. *Suffex and Surry continue in Paganism. The Churches of the several Kingdoms received the Rites of those Churches from whence they had their Conversions. Contentions that hence ensued. The Power the Saxon Princes generally exercised in Ecclesiastick Matters.*

XI. *The Zeal of the Roman Missionaries to bring the English from the Rites of the British and Scots, to those of Rome: Disputes occasioned hereby.*

XII. *The great Consequences of this Dispute to the Missionaries, and the Bishops of Rome. Reason of the stress put on this Controversy. Conversion to the Rites of the Roman Church, the only Conversion the greatest part of England owes to the Bishops of Rome.*

XIII. *The Arts by which the Churches, which had received their Conversion and Rites from the Scots and Britons, were brought over to those of Rome.*

SECT. I. **O**N the Death of *Edwin*, King of the Northumbrians, *Osrick*, his Uncle's Son, succeeded him in the Province or Kingdom of *Deira* (a), and *Eanfride*, the Son of *Ethelfride*, in the Kingdom of *Bernicia* (b), both Christians; but they both renounced their Religion, and, after a Reign of one Year, or thereabouts, were both slain by *Cedwalla*, King of the Britons (c). *Oswald*, Brother to *Eanfride*, succeeded him. This Prince was the Son of *Ethelfride*, King of the Northumbrians before *Edwin*. But *Edwin* having possessed himself of that Kingdom, the Sons of *Ethelfride*, together with many of the Nobility of that Nation, were forced to fly to *Ireland*, to the Scots, and to the Westerly parts of *Scotland*, then inhabited by the *Picts*, (d) where they continued as Exiles, during the Reign of *Edwin*.

But what they suffered by their Exile, was abundantly repaid in another manner; for here those Princes and exiled Nobility were brought over to the Christian Faith, and were baptized (e); and, by continuing amongst the Scots and *Picts*, during the seventeen Years Reign of King

Anno

633.

(a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

Chron. Saxon. An. 617.

(e) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 1.

Anno 634. King *Edwin*, they contracted such Friendship, as in time coming proved a mighty Blessing to the *English* Nation, by making the *Scots* and *Picts* great Instruments in their Conversion, to which King *Oswald* led the way; for no sooner was he seated upon his Throne, but, instead of recalling *Paulinus*, who formerly had been Bishop of *York*, and then was, and for about ten Years after continued Bishop of *Rocheſter*, he ſent to the chief of the *Scots*, to deſire they would ſend him a Biſhop, to inſtruct his People in the Chriſtian Faith. (a)

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hiſt. Lib.

SECT. II. The *Scots* readily answered his deſire, and ſent him a Biſhop, whoſe Name is omitted by *Bede*; but the Temper and Addreſs of that Prelate being no way ſuited to the *Saxon* People he returned unſucceſſful; and *Adanus*, a Biſhop of the *Scotiſh* Nation, was ſent in his room. This Prelate was, as *Bede* ſaith, (b) a Man of wonderful Humility, great Zeal, Probity, and Goodneſs; at whoſe deſire, the King, without any regard to the appointment of *Gregory*, and other ſucceeding Biſhops of *Rome*, who had appointed the See of that Kingdom at *York*, fixed the Epiſcopal See at *Lindiffarne*, a little Iſland lying at the Mouth of the River *Lindis*, on the Coaſt of *Northumberland* (c), and afterwards known by the Name of the *Holy Iſland*. *Aidan* diſcharged all the Functions of a wiſe and holy Prelate; and inſtead of the Pomp and Shew of the *Roman* Miſſionaries, by conſtant and diligent preaching of God's Word, exemplary Piety and Devotion, accompanied with the primitive Plainneſs and Simplicity, brought over infinite numbers to the Faith of Chriſt; and, by his encouragement, great numbers of the *Irish Scotiſh* Clergy, eſpecially of the Monks in Holy Orders, came into that Kingdom (d), and the Harveſt was answerable to the number of Labourers, and was very great.

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hiſt. Lib. 3.
Cap. 3.

(c) Camdeni
Britan. p. 816.

(d) Bed. Eccl.
Hiſt. Lib. 3.
Cap. 3.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid.

Nor did they ſtop at the Inſtructions of grown Perſons, but ſet up many Schools for the Inſtruction both of Men and Youth in Learning and Religion (e). As for *Oswald* he did not only perfect the Cathedral in *York*, but built Churches in many parts of his Kingdom (f); and, by the happy influence of his Conduct and Example, and the Bleſſing of God on the Labours of the *Scotch* Clergy, the *English* People, inhabiting North of the River *Humber*, were generally brought over to the Chriſtian

stian Faith, during the Reign of *Oswald*, which lasted about nine Years.

But whilst King *Oswald* thus laid the foundation of a new See at *Lindisfarne*, and *Aidan* has the first place in the Successions of the Bishops of *Durham*, to which place that See was in time removed, the See of *York* lay neglected for above thirty Years after the flight of *Paulinus*; this Prince, and his Successors, taking no notice of the Model of *Gregory*, till Reasons and Conveniences of State called them to found a Bishoprick there; and indeed, through the whole settlement of the Churches they founded, it is very evident, that that those Holy Men, to whom the greatest part of *England* owed their Christianity, without any manner of regard to the Bishops and Church of *Rome*, settled the Polity and Discipline of the Churches which they founded: And in this their Conduct, the Bishops and Clergy from the Island of *Iona* followed the Pattern of the *Irish Scots*, from whence they were originally a Colony.

For it appears, that notwithstanding the Epistle and Exhortation of *Honorius*, Bishop of *Rome*, (a) and after the Death of his next Successor but one, Pope *John*, or rather the Guardians of the Spiritualities, after the Election, but before the confirmation of that Prelate; the *Irish Scots* still retained their ancient Rites; and yet the latter of these Epistles bears date after the Conversion of the *Northern English*, and about the Year 639. Such reason had *Baronius*, (b) according to his way of writing, to say, that the *Irish Church* had long continued in Schism, that is, in other words, they knew no Authority the Bishops or Church of *Rome* had over them; and upon these Principles did the Clergy, educated there, act in setting up and removing Episcopal Sees; and notwithstanding the Platform of *Gregory*, by which *York* was intended to be erected into an Archiepiscopal See, and the Bishops thereof appointed to receive their Consecration from the Bishops of *London* (c), and the Pall of *Honorius* to advance them to the State of Archbishops, the See of *York* was removed to a little Island, the Bishops reduced to the common state of Diocesan Bishops, and sent to the *Scots* to receive their Consecration.

(a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 19.

(b) Baron. Annal. Anno 604.

(c) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 1. Cap. 29.

Anno

634.

SECT. III. Whilst the Interests of Christianity were thus carrying on in the North, *Birinus*, a Bishop from *Rome*, landed in the West of *England*, about the Year 634. This Prelate is said to have been bred a Monk, in the Monastery founded by *Gregory* the Great in *Rome*, (a) and by most of our Historians, is said to have been sent by *Honorius*, Bishop of *Rome*; yet *Bede* saith no more of his coming, but that it was by the Advice of *Honorius* (b): And his Relation to St. *Gregory*, and the Examples of *Felix*, a *Burgundian*, who about the same time voluntarily came into *Britain*, and preached the Gospel to the *East-Angles* (c); and of *Agilbertus*, a *Frenchman*, who came in the like manner into the Country of the *West-Saxons*, and was the immediate Successor to *Birinus*; and the many Instances which we have of this kind, in this Century, would tempt one to think, that *Birinus* was not sent by *Honorius*, as many of our Historians say, but moved by the Piety of his own Inclinations, but with the advice and good liking of *Honorius*, engaged in this Holy Undertaking.

(a) Rudborn,
Angl. Sac.
Par. I. p. 190.

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 7.

(c) Chron.
Saxon. An.
636.

And his Conduct seems answerable to this Opinion; for being arriv'd in *Britain*, for ought appears to the contrary, without applying himself to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or consulting the *Roman* Missionaries, he began his Labours like one who had no Commission but what he owed to his Zeal, and the integrity of his own Mind, or what lay in common to every Bishop of the Catholick Church; however, God was pleased to give him Success. About a Year after he had begun to preach the Gospel to this People, *Oswald*, King of the *Northumbrians*, came into the *West*, to marry the Daughter of *Kingil*, King of that People. This favourable conjuncture so forwarded the Labours of *Birinus*, that by the Blessing of God, that Prince was brought over to the Christian Faith and baptiz'd: at which Holy Office, *Oswald*, his intended Son-in-law, was his Spiritual Father.

Anno

635.

And *Kingil* being at this time but a Tributary to *Oswald*, those two Princes join'd in the Grant of the City of *Dorchester* to *Birinus*, where those Princes founded an Episcopal See, and *Birinus* was the first Bishop thereof, and a great Instrument of propagating the Gospel.

SECT.

SECT. IV. About the same time that the *West-Saxons* thus received the Faith, the Gospel was established amongst the *East-Angles*, whose Conversion seems owing to a remarkable Instance of the good Providence of God, by the Interest and Perswasions of *Edwin*, King of the *Northumbrians*; *Carpuald*, Son of *Redmald*, King of the *East-Angles*, was converted about the Year 632 (a), but that Prince being murdered about three Years after, (b) the Interest of the Gospel, which was not considerable at his Death, determined with him, and a general Apostacy ensued. (c)

(a) Chron. Saxon. An. 632. pag. 29.

(b) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 15.

(c) Ibid.

Sigibert was Brother to *Carpuald*, and succeeded in his Kingdom, who, as it seems by a Faction in the Court, during his Brother's Reign, had been forced into *France*, where he had lived for some time in Exile; but it pleased God, who, when he sees fit, can bring Good out of Evil, that this Prince was, during this Exile, converted to the Christian Faith (d), and filled with a Zeal becoming the Holy Religion he professed; and no sooner was he advanced to the Crown, but the first subject of his Care was that which best deserved it, the Religion of Christ.

(d) Ibid.

Whilst these Thoughts possessed this Prince, *Felix*, a *Burgundian* Bishop, moved by a Zeal from above, came into *England*, (e) to offer himself an Instrument in converting the *Saxons*; and applying himself to *Honorius*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was, by him, sent to *Sigibert*, (f) and by his Favour and Assistance, became a great Instrument of God's Glory in the converting of the *East-Angles* (g). And that all the Steps of this Affair might be surprising, no sooner was this Holy Work begun, but *Furseus*, a Priest and Monk, from *Ireland*, came voluntarily into that Kingdom (h) not to hide and render himself useless, but to do God Service in the propagation of the Gospel. *Sigibert* received him as the Piety of the Man and his Errand deserved, and by his Example and Assistance, and the Blessing of God on the Labours of these Holy Strangers, *Felix* and *Furseus*, the Christian Religion was received and settled in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 19.

The Christian Religion being thus planted, *Sigibert* settled the Episcopal See, since removed to *Normich*, at *Dunmuck* (i), probably the same place that is now known by the Name of *Dunwich* in the County of *Suffolk*, and

(i) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. Cap. 15.

Felix

Fælix had the Honour to have the first place in the Successions of the Bishops of that See, which he held for seventeen Years, and has left not only his Name, but the Example of a Zeal and Piety that merit the reverence and imitation of all his Successors. Our Historians do for the most part agree to this Account of *Bede*, but with this difference, that *Malmsbury*, and from him *Ranulphus* say, that *Fælix* was well known to *Sigibert* in *France*, and by him brought over to *England*; (a) which robs *Honorius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of the part *Bede* gives him in this Affair.

(a) *Ranulph.*
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 232.

SECT. V. But if we may rely on our later Historians, especially on those who have wrote the Antiquities of the University of *Cambridge*; Posterity is on another Account, exceedingly indebted to the Wisdom and Munificence of *Sigibert*, who, as they tell us, was the Founder of that very eminent Nursery of Learning and Religion. Thus much is certain, that that Prince not only settled the Christian Religion in his Dominions, of which *Cambridgeshire* was a part, but, according to the Pattern he had seen in *France*, he founded Schools for the Instruction of Youth within his Dominions (b); and, according to the usage of the Schools which had before been erected in *Kent*, by *Austin* and his Followers, he appointed Masters to attend their Instruction.

(b) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 18.

And indeed Religion and good Learning have ever been thought so nearly allied, and so mutually useful to each other, that Religion is no where else so bright and shining, as in Minds that are enlightened by Knowledge, and freed from the Mists and Clouds of Ignorance and Vice; and therefore that of *Sigibert* was the general practise of all those Holy Men, to whom these Nations are indebted for the Blessings of the Gospel.

Austin begun this practise in *Kent*. The Scots from *Ireland*, and those from the Isle of *Iona* took the same course, and at once settled Christianity, and Schools of Learning in all those parts of *Britain* which they had the honour to convert (c). *Theodore*, and all the later Colonies from *Rome* followed the same steps; (d) and it is not unlikely but *St. German* and *St. Lupus* might take the like measures in providing against the *Pelagian* Heresy. And about the latter end of this and the beginning of the next Century, the *English* Nobility and Gentry foun-

(c) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 3.
(d) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 2.

founded many Collegiate Societies, (a) consisting of secular Persons mentioned in our Councils (b) and Historians, by the Name of Secular Monasteries; and, 'tis probable, that our now flourishing Universities might have their beginning in some of the 'foresaid Foundations; yet we are so much in the dark as to the true original of those Bodies, and the Steps by which they rose are so unobserved by Antiquity, that there is but too much reason to doubt, whether there be sufficient ground to support the Opinions of those Learned Men, who pretend to say, that the University of *Oxford* was founded or restored by *St. German*, and that of *Cambridge* by *Sigibert*.

(a) Bedæ
Epist. ad Eg-
brorum, p. 259.
(b) Concil.
Britan. Vol. I.
pag. 239.

It is enough to all Men who are not fond of Uncertainties, that it is past all doubt, those Bodies are very ancient, and deservedly make so great a Figure in the Learned World, that they can never want Veneration and Encouragement, till the World wants a just esteem for Religion and Learning, and becomes fond of Vice and Ignorance; yet, without lessening the veneration, which all the ties of Inclination and Duty oblige me to pay to those venerable Bodies, I hope one may be permitted to say, that the Schools erected in *Kent*, by the Missionaries from *Rome*, were intended for the teaching of *Greek* and *Latin*, and *Musick*; (c) and it is certain, that *Fælix* could bring no Pattern from *France* for any other Schools of Learning.

(c) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 4. cap. 20.

For it is evident, there was no University in *France*, till, by the assistance of *Alcuinus*, that of *Paris* was erected by *Charles* the Great. This was near one hundred and fifty Years after the erection of Schools by *Sigibert*; and those Opinions which ascribe the erecting an University in *Oxford* to the *Britons*, or *St. German*, are accompanied with Difficulties so equal to those which clog the Story of *Sigibert*, that those ancient and venerable Bodies seem rather to lose than gain any thing by the Zeal which gave beginning to those Opinions. But to return.

SECT. VI. Whilst the Gospel was spreading it self in other parts of *England*, and the Missionaries in *Kent* made some little but unsuccessful efforts towards bringing the *Britons* and *Scots* to the Rites and Usages of the *Romish* Church, except what is related of *Birinus*, *Bede* makes no mention of any thing done by the Missionaries,

Anno
640.

Anno
640.

(a) Chron. Sax.
An. 641.
Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 7.
(b) Ibid.

(c) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 9.
Epist. 71.
(d) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 9.
Epist. 11.

(e) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 15.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid.

towards enlarging the Bounds of *Christ-Church*, from the flight of *Paulinus* from the North, in the Year 633, till the Year 640; and then gives us so surprising an Instance of the Wisdom and Zeal of *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, as at once reflects Honour and Esteem upon that Prince, and reproaches the want of Integrity, or Zeal, in those who had the planting and conduct of Religion in that Kingdom; this Year, saith *Bede*, *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, by an *Edict*, required all his Subjects to relinquish the Worship of Idols; and that all the Idols should be destroyed through his whole Kingdom (a), and appointed Punishment for all that should offend in the violation of that Law (b).

The softest reflection this Affair is capable of, is, that that Kingdom was not yet entirely converted, and yet this was above forty Years after the coming of *Austin*: But if one compare the Directions given by *Gregory* to *Austin* (c), and to *Serenus* Bishop of *Marselles* (d), not to abolish the Rites and Usages of the Pagans, but to direct them to the Honour of God, and to permit them, if they desired it, to set up Images in the places of publick Worship, with what *Bede* saith (e) of *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, who was converted and baptized by the Missionaries in *Kent*, viz. (f) that that Prince being returned to his Kingdom, transcribed the Example of the *Samaritans*; and as they took the *Jewish* Worship into their own, thus, saith *Bede*, (g) did that Prince, in the same Church, offer Sacrifice to Christ and Devils, one finds too much ground to suspect, that the first Missionaries from *Rome* were exceedingly to blame for the Notions of God, and the Rites and Forms of Worship they taught, or at least permitted to their Converts.

Whether it were for these Reasons that God thought fit to deny them the Successes that might have been hoped for, and the first success seemed to promise? or whether it was that their Numbers or Zeal were diminished? or for other Reasons best known to God, he only knows? But thus much is certain, their Labours had not the wished for Success; but whilst the Interests of Religion stood in need of the Civil Authority, and compulsion of a Penal Law in the Kingdom of *Kent*, that special Providence which ever watches over the Interests of Truth, was, in other parts of the Island, preparing

paring the way for voluntary submission to the Faith of Christ.

For not long after the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons* was recovered to the Church, and that of *Mercia*, brought into it.

SECT. VII. Some part of the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*, containing the Counties of *Middlesex* and *Essex*, had received the Christian Faith upon the preaching of *Mellitus*, about the Year 604; but about the Year 613, *Seber* the King thereof dying, *Mellitus* was driven from his See in *London*, and that Kingdom returned to Paganism again (a); and though it cannot be doubted, but that *Mellitus*, who afterwards was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and his Successors, were not wanting in their endeavours to recover that People from their Apostacy, yet their endeavours were unsuccessful, and Idolatry continued in full possession of that Kingdom for about forty Years after their Relapse, and the expulsion of *Mellitus*; but then it pleased God to grant the Success to the *English* and *Scotch* Clergy, which he denied to those from *Rome*. The manner and circumstances whereof *Bede* thus relates. (b)

Anno
654.

(a) Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Lib. 2.
cap. 5.

Anno
654.

(b) Bed. Eccles.
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 22.

There was, saith he, a mighty Friendship betwixt *Oswy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and *Sigibert* the Third, King of the *East-Saxons*, which occasioned a constant Correspondence, and frequent Interviews betwixt those Princes; *Oswy* endeavoured to pursue the noblest and truest ends of Friendship, and made use of it to serve the purposes of Vertue and Religion; and therefore in conversation, frequently applied himself to shew *Sigibert* the folly of adoring Beings, not to be compared with that of Mankind (c), and to raise his Mind to a sense of that Being who was the Creator of the World; (d) and succeeded so well, that *Sigibert* yielded to the force of his Reasonings, and declared himself a Christian, and was baptized by *Finanus*, Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, (e). And the same Reasons which occasioned the Conversion of this Prince, made him very solicitous for the Conversion of his People: And in order thereunto, he desired of *Oswy*, the assistance of some of his Clergy; and *Chad*, who was an *Englishman* by Birth, and at this time imployed in the Conversion of the Midland *English*, having by his Zeal and Conduct in that Employment,

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

given

given abundant evidence of his Capacity for a Work of that kind, was called home from the Kingdom of *Mercia*; and, together with another Priest, sent by King *Oswy*, to attend upon *Sigibert* to the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons*: Being arrived there, *Chad* and his Fellow-Labourer went from place to place through the Dominions of *Sigibert*; and with exemplary Zeal and Holiness preached the Gospel to the People of *Middlesex* and *Essex*, and their Labours were blessed by Almighty God with a general conversion of that People.

And having formed a Church, *Cedda* or *Chad* returned to the North, where he was consecrated Bishop by *Finanus*; and from thence going back to his Charge he established his Episcopal See in *London* (a); where, after a long interval of forty Years betwixt him and *Mellitus*, he has left his Name amongst the Bishops of that See, and a most worthy Pattern to Succession. And when, after the Death of this worthy Prelate, a part of this People relapsed to their Idolatry again, they were a second time reclaimed by the Labours of *Farumannus*, Bishop of the *Mercians*, (b) who had been educated in the Discipline, and received his Consecration from the *Scotish* Churches.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 30.

Anno
655.

SECT. VIII. The Midland parts of *England*, since distinguished into the Counties of *Gloucester*, *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Warwick*, *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Bedford*, *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Buckingham*, *Derby*, *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and part of *Hartford*, are usually said to be comprehended in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and possibly were so in time; but it is past dispute, that that Kingdom was at this time very great and powerful, but had hitherto continued in its Idolatry; and, for ought appears to the contrary, without any attempt of the Missionaries to reclaim them; or if any endeavours were used for their Conversion, the want of Success has buried them in silence.

But about this time a way was opened to their Conversion; for *Penda* being King of the *Mercians*, and having a Son of the same Name, a Proposal was made for a Marriage betwixt *Penda's* Son, and *Alchfred* Daughter of *Oswy*, King of the *Northumbrians* (c); *Oswy* was a Christian, and his Daughter bred up in that Religion; and therefore that Prince refused the Match, unless *Penda*

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 21.

re-

renounced his Paganism (a). After some time, and due Instructions, *Penda* was so fully convinced of the Truth and Reasonableness of the Christian Faith, that he made open profession thereof; and, together with the Nobility which attended him to the North, he was baptized by *Finanus*, Bishop of *Lindisfarne* (b). *Penda* being thus converted, at his return to his Country he carried back with him four Priests, who laboured with great Success, not only in that part of this great Country, which was committed to the Government of this Prince, during the Life of his Father, the Inhabitants whereof *Bede* stiles the *Mid-Angles*, (c) but in all the other parts of *Mercia*.

The chief of the four Priests, to whose Labours the conversion of this Kingdom was chiefly owing, was *Cedda*, or *Chad* (d), whom I have already mentioned in relating the Conversion of the *East-Saxons*; for *Cedda* was here employed when *Oswy* recalled him from this Service (e), and sent him to preach to the *East-Saxons*; and therefore the order of time seems to challenge precedence to this Relation, before the account of the *East-Saxons*. But though a progress was made in the Conversion of the Midland parts of *England*, before the Gospel was preached to the *East-Saxons*, yet since this Work was not perfected, till some time after the Conversion of the *East-Saxons*, I choose to lay the whole together, though some part not in the just order of time, rather than perplex the Story, in following the Steps of *Bede*, who seems not so clear in his Account of this particular, as is usual with that excellent Writer.

SECT. IX. But upon the whole Matter, it seems evident, that the People inhabiting all the new Midland-Counties of *England*, during the Reigns of the two *Penda*'s, the Father and the Son, and the short time that *Oswy* (who slew *Penda* in Battel) possessed that Kingdom, were generally converted; and by the Clergy sent from the North, which *Bede* saith were *Cedda*, *Adda*, *Betti*, and *Diuma* (f); of which, the three former were *English*, and the last, *Diuma*, a *Scotchman*, if the Authority of *Bede* may be relied on in this particular; whereas *Eddius*, the Writer of *Wilfrid*'s Life, and who lived at this time, saith of his Brother *Chad*, that he was a *Scot*, (g) and came from *Ireland*, the then Country of the *Scots*: But

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what-

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 22.

Anno 655.

(f) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 21.

(g) Vita Wilfrid c. 14. XV. Scriptor. pag. 58.

whatever his Country was, 'tis certain, that his Fellow-Labourers in this Holy Work, had for some time lived, if not been educated under *Aidan* and *Finan*, Bishops of the *Northern English*, and therefore acquainted with the Language and Manners of the People to whom they were sent.

And the Success was answerable, and indeed the Advantages thereof are so visible, that one cannot but wonder, that amongst the many Miracles said to be wrought in favour of the Missionaries from *Rome*, we do not hear that God ever gave to any of them a miraculous knowledge of the *Saxon* Language: Nor has he, that we ever hear of, been more bountiful in that kind to the modern Missionaries, though the knowledge of Tongues was the first general Favour that God vouchsafed to all those he first employed in preaching of the Gospel; and if the want hereof was not one of the reasons of the little success of *Austin* and his Followers; yet there is no doubt to be made, that the knowledge of the Language was of great use to those who were employed in the Conversion we are now speaking of.

Whilst this Work was thus successfully going on, *Cedda* or *Chad*, who was the chief Person engag'd therein, was called away by the King of *Northumberland*; and at the desire of the King of the *East-Saxons* imployed in the conversion of his People; and after some time spent in that Service was made Bishop of *London*. Upon his recess *Diurma* was made Bishop of the new Converts, and consecrated by *Finanus* (a), under the Title of Bishop of the *Mid-English* and *Mercians* (b). The judicious and learned Mr. *Wharton* (c) has well observed, that there are some things in this Story very perplexed and intricate, occasioned, as he justly observes, by the quick Revolutions which happened in this Kingdom; for *Penda* was killed in Battel by *Oswy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, in the Year 655; and the Year following *Penda*, or *Peada* his Son was murdered, and (as it was thought) by the treachery of his Wife; and *Oswy* possessed himself of that Kingdom in the Year 656, which he continued till the Year 658, when the People cast off his Yoke, and set up *Wulfere*, a younger Son of *Penda*. (d)

These hasty changes have occasioned some difficulties in fixing the exact time of the Conversion of this People, and

(a) Ibid.

(b) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 24.

(c) Anglia Sac. Pars I. pag. 423.

(d) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 24.

and the first settlement of the Episcopal See in that Kingdom; but what is plain, and allowed on all hands, is enough to the present purpose, viz. that *Penda*, or *Peada*, the Son of the King of the *Mercians*, was baptized about the Year 653, by *Finanus* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*; and at his return to his Country, the Gospel was first preached to the Midland Counties of *England*, by the Persons already mentioned; and, by the Blessing of God on their Labours, was within a few Years after generally received; and in particular by *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, and under his Reign settled amongst that People. *Diuma* was the first Bishop of that Kingdom (a); and the Seat of the Bishoprick being afterwards fixed at *Lichfield*, his Name has the first place in the Successions of the Bishops of that See; and his Memory has the Honour and Veneration, amongst all good Men, which his Piety and Labours deserv'd.

Anno
658.

(a) Ibid.

And Posterity was not ungrateful to the Memory of *St. Chad*, his Fellow-Labourer in that holy Undertaking; for though he was called away from that Service, to preach to the People of *Essex* and *Middlesex*; and for the Services he there did was advanced to the See of *London*, yet the Cathedral of *Lichfield* bears his Name to this Day, and, as I think, in Memory of this Prelate, who was a great Instrument in the Conversion of the *Mercians*; and to distinguish him from a later *Chad*, who was made Bishop of *Lichfield* about the Year 670, is known by the Name of *Chad* the Elder.

SECT. X. Whilst the Gospel was thus planted in all the other Kingdoms, the *South-Saxons* inhabiting the Counties of *Sussex* and *Surry* remained in their Idolatry, till God, who brings Good out of Evil, did, some Years after, serve himself on the unhappy Divisions in the *English* Church, and, by the expulsion of *Wilfrid* from the See of *York*, opened a way to their Conversion: In the mean time, it will be requisite to look a little backward, and view the Steps which lead us to the Controversy, to which *Wilfrid* owed both his Reputation and his Sufferings; and which, by the good Providence of God, occasioned the Conversion of this People.

Anno
660.

The Gospel having been planted by Men bred in different Communions, the several parts of *England* received the Rites and Usages of the Churches from whence they

they received their Faith ; the Kingdom of *Kent* owing its Conversion to those who were sent from *Rome*, received the Usages of that Church : This was the case of the *West-Saxons*, who had received their Christianity from *Birinus*, or his Successor *Agilbertus*, the former a Bishop from *Rome*, the latter from *France* ; and in some measure of the *East-Angles*, who had been generally converted by *Fælix* a *Burgundian*, and *Furseus* a Monk from *Scotland* : But all the other parts of *England*, under the Dominion of the *Saxons*, containing, in a manner, the whole Tract of Ground from the Friths of *Edenburgh*, on the *North*, to the *Thames* on the *South*, as they were generally brought to the Christian Faith by the Labours of the *Scotish* or *Irish* Clergy, or such *English* as had had their Education under them ; so they as generally followed the Usages of the *Scotish* and *British* Churches.

And this difference in Rites and Usages was the ground of those Factions and mutual Heats, which, for a time, occasioned a great deal of Wrangling and Contention, and ended in a general change of the Oeconomy and Polity first established in the *Saxon* Churches in the first Conversions of that People, each Prince made such Establishment as best suited the convenience of his own Dominions ; and, excepting the Kingdom of *Kent*, no one Kingdom had, in the first Establishment, more than one Episcopal See, the Bishop whereof was independant, owning no Metropolitan ; and with the advice of their Clergy and People, the Princes founded or removed Episcopal Sees, or divided Bishopricks, as they were led by the Interests of Religion, and the good of their Churches and People.

Nor was this the case of those Kingdoms only which were converted by the *Irish Scotish* Christians, but of those Kingdoms which had been converted by the Missionaries from *Rome* ; or by such Persons as agreed in the Rites and Usages of that Church, and in particular of the *West-Saxons*, though first converted by *Birinus* ; for by the Royal Authority the Episcopal See was first settled at *Dorchester* (a) : And on the Death of *Birinus*, Bishop thereof, the King took *Agilbert*, a *Frenchman*, and placed him in his room (b) ; and when he thought fit, that Prince divided his Kingdom into two Bishopricks (c), and founded a new Episcopal See at *Winchester* (d), and

(a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 7.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

constituted *Wini* the Bishop thereof (a). And to shew he knew of no Metropolitan to whom it belonged to consecrate the Bishops of his Kingdom, he sent *Wini* into *France* to be consecrated (b): And indeed our Historians generally agree, that *Theodore* was the first Archbishop of *Canterbury* that was ever generally owned as Metropolitan by the *Saxons* (c).

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

And the circumstances of that Affair (which shall be considered in the proper place) shew plainly, that the acknowledgment of his Authority was a voluntary act, founded on an Agreement of the *English* Princes amongst themselves, and not upon any Opinion of a Power in the Bishop of *Rome*, to constitute a Metropolitan without their consent. But to judge truly of this Matter, it will be requisite to consider the subject, and motions of that Controversie, which about this time broke the Peace of the Churches of *England*.

SECT. XI. At the conference betwixt the *British* Bishops, and *Austin*, that Prelate promised the *Britons*, that in case they would obey him, in observing the *Easter-Festival*, according to the manner of the Church of *Rome*, and in the use of the same Rites in administering Baptism, and join in the Conversion of the *English*, he would bear with them in all other things (d): But he told them, at the same time, that they did many things contrary to the unity of the Church (e); but it is not said what those things were, which they did contrary to the Unity of the Church, and wherein he was to bear with them.

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(d) Bed. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 2.

(e) Ibid.

And in the same uncertain manner does our Historian speak of the famous dispute in the Synod held this Year in the Monastery of *Streanesbalk*, now *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*; he saith, that several Ecclesiastick Affairs were the subject of debate, but mentions no other but the *Easter-Festival*, and the Ecclesiastick Tonsure, only in general other Ecclesiastick Matters (f).

(f) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 25.

But it appears, that both the *Britons* and *Irish Scots* had their Liturgies distinct from that of *Rome*: The *Britons* generally using the Liturgy of *St. Martin*, which was called the *Gallorum Cursus* (g): The *Scots* of *Ireland* had another Liturgy, called the *Cursus Scotorum* (h); and there is no doubt to be made, but *Columban*, by whom the Northern *Picts* were first converted, and who

(g) Usher's Relig. of Anti. Irish, cap. 4. pag. 34.
(h) Ejusdem pag. 31.

founded the Monastery in the Island of *Hy*, now called *Iona*, established the Liturgy of *Ireland* from whence he came.

Now the Northern and Midland Parts of *England* having received the Christian Faith from the *Irish Scots*, or such of the *Albion Scots* and *English* as had had their Education in *Ireland*, or in the 'foresaid Monastery of *Iona*, or in such of the *English* Monasteries as had been erected by the Bishops who had been educated therein, there is no reason to doubt, but they did universally receive the Liturgy in use amongst the *Irish Scots*; and it is very probable, that this enlarged the subject of dispute betwixt the Missionaries and the Bishops and Clergy of the Northern *English*; and was one of the chief of the Ecclesiastick Matters remembred by *Bede*.

Besides all this, it seems very evident, that the *English*, who had received their Faith from other hands, had been so far from owning the Authority of the Clergy from *Rome*, that they had hitherto had no Communion with them; and therefore it is no wonder, we see this Controversy revived again at this time; for the *English* being now generally converted, the Missionaries had no more to do but to bring them over to the Usages of the *Roman Church*; for thus they would at once mortifie the *Scotish* and *English* Clergy, who had laboured in their Conversion, and possess themselves of the Trust and Honour they had deserved.

This design seems to have been laid some Years before, but, as *Bede* observes, whilst *Aidan* and *Finan*, Bishops of the Northern *English*, lived, their Merit and Interests were such that they bore down all attempts of this kind (a); but they being dead, and *Colman* in their Chair, a Man of less Merit, though, as he observes, a very pious and holy Prelate, it was now a fit time to set about it; and accordingly, as he observes, upon the Death of *Finan*, this Controversie grew much hotter than it was before (b). The Parties who were chiefly concerned in this Controversie, were, as *Bede* (c) well observes, the Church of *Kent*, and such Christians as had been bred in *France*, on the one side; and the *Scotish* Clergy, and such of the *English* as had been converted by them, on the other side.

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 25.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

SECT. XII. And indeed the Church of *Kent*, and the Authority of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* had a great concern in this Affair; for though in the first view it appears little and trifling, yet the consequence was of the first moment to the Missionaries, and the Authority of the See that sent them; for whilst things remained in the present state, it was manifest that the *English* Churches of the *Scotish* Establishment, as well as the *British* Churches, would be so far from submitting to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as their Metropolitan; and consequently, from owning the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, from whom they received that Character, that they would not so much as join in Communion with the Churches that had been planted from *Rome*. Anno 664.

But, on the contrary, if they could be brought to submit to the Usages, and join in the external Communion of the Church, founded by *Austin*, they must necessarily own the Authority by which those Usages were established. In short, there could be no external Communion betwixt the Churches of the *Scotish* and *Roman* Establishments, without a Submission on the one side, or mutual Recognitions of a due establishment on the side of both Parties; for joining in constant Communion with a Church, does, in the very nature of it, include and imply an acknowledgment and belief, that the Church we so join with is duly established; and such an acknowledgment is still more publick and authentick when one Church changes its ancient Rites and Usages to capacitate it for Communion with another; consequently, the *British* and *Scotish* Churches, and such of the *English* as were established on the same foot, could not possibly make a more publick and certain acknowledgment of the Authority of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church established in these Kingdoms, by the Missionaries from *Rome*, than by submitting to terms of Communion, and uniting into one Church with them.

For whatever the terms were, such a submission did, in the very nature of it, include an acknowledgment of the Authority of those to whom they submitted; and consequently, this Union was at least a virtual, if not an explicit owning of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* as their Metropolitan; and therefore it is very well observed by one of the best Judges in Affairs of this kind, (a) that

(a) Original
Brit. cap. 5.
pag. 359.
when

(a) Origin.
 Britan. cap. 5.
 pag. 358,

when the *British* Bishops were pressed by *Austin* to obey him, in observing the *Easter-Festival*, and the Rites of Baptism, they answered appositely not only to the first and literal sense, but to the consequence of his Demand, that they would neither comply with him in the 'foresaid Rites, nor own him for their Archbishop. And therefore the pretences of Mr. *Cressy* and *Alford*, that *Austin* did not require the *Britons* to submit to his Authority, as the 'foresaid Learned Prelate well observes, if true, would no way excuse him, for that submission was necessarily included in what he expressly required. (a)

This Reflection shews us at once the true ground of this Controversy, the Springs by which it was moved, and the reason of the Zeal and Passion with which it was conducted; and why the Historians, who favoured the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome* speak so sensibly of the Conversions to the Catholick *Easter*, as they term it, and the Ecclesiastical Tonsure; for these were the Conversions, the *Saxon*, *British*, and *Scotish* Churches, intirely owed to the Zeal and Conduct of the Missionaries from *Rome*.

And how little soever they appear at the first view, the great Consequences they drew after them, will shew the Missionaries had reason to value themselves for these Conversions, and that our Historians judged rightly of the importance thereof. But for these Reasons, the ground of this change, or how it came to pass that the *English*, who had hitherto opposed the Missionaries, were prevailed upon to join in Communion with them, will deserve our particular enquiry?

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SECT. XIII. The account that *Bede* gives us of the Miracles of *Aidan* and *Finan*, and *Colman*, who headed the Party which opposed the Missionaries, and the Usages they had brought from *Rome*, do so fully ballance those on the other side, that we must be content to lay aside all considerations of that kind, and seek our account of the change in the Rites and Government of the *Saxon* Churches, from Reasons of a different nature.

Certain it is, that hitherto there had been great Heats and Animosities betwixt the *Saxons* of the *Scotish* Conversions, and those who had been converted by the Clergy from *Rome* and *France*: And it is as evident, that this Year a way was opened to a Reconciliation: And be-

because this change had its beginning amongst the Northern *English*, whose Country had hitherto been both the support and nursery of those who opposed the pretensions of the *Roman* Missionaries, we are to look to the state of that Kingdom for our light into this Affair.

Oswy, King of the *Northumbrians*, was, at this time, the greatest of the *Saxon* Kings, and all the rest Tributaries to him; and he had married a Princess, who had been trained up according to the Usage of the Church of *Kent* (a), and had a Chappel settled, and continued the publick exercise of her Religion, according to the Rites and Usages of that Church; and was, for that end, attended by a Chaplain named *Romanus*, a *Scotchman* by Birth, but a very fierce and zealous asserter of the Catholick *Easter* (b).

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 25.*

(b) *Ibid.*

And *Wilfrid*, afterwards Bishop of *York*, though an *Englishman* born, and who had his first Education amongst the *Northern English*, yet having spent some time in the Kingdom of *Kent* (c), and more in *France* and *Italy*; he was some Years before this Dispute returned home, a warm asserter of the Catholick *Easter*, and Ecclesiastick Tonsure (d); and which is more, by the Interest and Perswasions of *Cenelwalch*, King of the *West-Saxons*, King *Alcfrid*, who was at this time a Partner in the Throne of his Father, had some time before been brought over to the same Sentiments (e); and being confirmed therein by *Wilfrid*, seems to have been no less zealous to promote the Designs and Interests of the Missionaries, than the Missionaries themselves.

(c) *Eddii Vit. Wilfrid. XV Scriptör. pag. 45, 46.*

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

The Seeds of Discord being thus prepared, an opportunity to mature them soon offered it self; for the several Parties following different Cycles in finding of *Easter*, as *Bede* observes, it sometimes happen'd, that whilst the King was celebrating the *Easter* Festival, the Queen was engaged in the austerities of the *Lent* Fast (f); and as this published the difference in the several Communion, and made confusion in the Courts, so under the favour and countenance of the young King and Queen, this difference in the Usages of the Church grew up into a Faction of State; and prevailed so far on King *Oswy*, that if one judges by the event, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that the Assembly he

(f) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 25.*

called to consider of this Matter, like the modern Conferences, was rather to cover, and give reputation to his Resolutions, than to determine them.

C H A P. V.

Ab Anno 664 ad Annum 673.

SECT. I. **A** Synod on the occasion of the Controversy about Easter, &c. Arguments on both sides.

II. The Observances of Easter by the first Ages, the rise and ancient state of the Controversy about it: The Conduct and Issue thereof.

III. A second branch of Controversy, Ecclesiastick Tonsure. Some Reflections thereon. Conclusion of this Synod in favour of the Missionaries. Colman quits his Bishoprick. Wilfrid chose of the Northern English; goes to France to be Consecrated, contrary to the appointment of Gregory.

IV. During the absence of Wilfrid, the Court of the King of Northumberland is brought by the Quarto Decimans, to appoint Tuda to be Bishop in Wilfrid's room: He not permitted to return the Charge against him.

V. Kings of Northumberland and Kent agree to unite the Churches of the Scottish and Romish Establishment: The reasons thereof. By consent they chose Wighart to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Send him to Rome for Consecration. Wighart dies at Rome. This gives occasion to the Bishop of Rome to choose, and send Theodore in his stead.

VI. Theodore consecrated. His Character. Reason of Union of the English Churches. Theodore the first Metropolitan thereof. The reception of his Authority owing to the Consent of the English Princes, not to the Power of the Bishop of Rome. Conduct of Theodore.

VII. Wilfrid restored to his Bishoprick by Theodore. Ceadda removed from York to Lichfield. Theodore erects Schools for Greek, Latin, and Musick.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. *A Synod held at Hertford. Theodore acts as Metropolitan. Bishops, who appeared. Canons of the Council.*

IX. *Some Reflections on this Council. The state of the Lower Clergy.*

X. *The present state of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Original of the Metropolitcal Powers in England. Not owing to the Authority of the Bishops of Rome.*

SECT. I. **T**HE way being thus prepared for the change which not long after ensued, *Osmy, King of Northumberland, appointed a Time and Place for a Conference betwixt the contending Parties: The Place fixed upon was the Monastery of Strenæshalch, now Whitby in York shire; where, on the side of the Quarto Decimans, appeared Colman, Bishop of the Northern English, with great numbers of his Clergy; together with Hilda, then Abbess of that Monastery. On the other side appeared King Alcfred, and Eanfled Queen of Osmy, Agilbertus now, or late, Bishop of the West-Saxons, and Wilfrid, afterwards Bishop of York (a).*

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Having taken their places, King *Osmy* appointed *Colman* to speak first, who said, *That the manner in which he observed the Easter Festival was the same he had received from those who had sent him thither, and they from their Forefathers, all Men of great and unquestionable Holiness; and that they had taken their Pattern from the beloved Evangelist St. John, who had taught that Observance to the Churches he had presided over (b).*

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 25.

(b) Ibid.

Colman having ended his Discourse, King *Osmy* appointed *Agilbertus* to begin, but he excusing himself by reason of his unskillfulness in the *English* Tongue, desired that *Wilfrid* might speak the sense of his Party: King *Osmy* readily admitted the excuse of *Agilbert*, and commanded *Wilfrid* to speak, and *Wilfrid* as readily obeyed, and said, *Our manner in observing Easter is the same with what we have seen at Rome, in Italy, and France,; the same that Africa, Asia, Greece, and Egypt, and generally the whole Christian World observe, excepting the Britons and Scots, and their Followers. (c)*

(c) Ibid.

SECT. II. This Controversy, how little soever it may appear, had given a great deal of trouble to some
of

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of the preceding Ages of the Church. The Resurrection of our blessed Lord, as it consummated the evidence of his being the promised Messiah; and in consequence thereof, the truth of the Doctrines which he had delivered; so it had all the Marks of veneration, the importance of the thing deserved; and seems, from the Day in which it was accomplished, to have been received as a Festival of the Christian Church, and both the Annual and Weekly commemoration thereof extended together with the pale of the Church.

But as this Festival was received by the Consent, rather than any known Command of Christ or his Apostles, or any authoritative Act of the Church, so there was no Time established for the Annual celebration thereof. Hence the Usages of the Church became very different: And because the Resurrection of Christ fell in with the *Jewish* Passover, some Christians took their Rule from that Rule which God had given to the *Jews*, for the celebration of the Passover; and observed their *Easter* from the fourteenth Day of the first Month inclusive, till the twentieth, without any regard to the Day of the Week on which it happened: And this, as *Socrates* observes, was the general practice of the Churches of the *Lesser Asia* (a). These, from hence, acquired the Title of *Quarto decimans* (b); and the better to justify their practice, these pretended to follow the Tradition and Example of *St. John*. (c)

(a) *Socrates*
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 5. c. 21.
(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

There were others, which though they pretended to the Tradition and Rule of *St. John*, yet never observed their *Easter* but on the first Day of the Week. This was the case of the *British* and *Scotish* Churches, and those of their Establishment amongst the *English Saxons* (d). Their Rule was the first Day of the Week, from the fourteenth inclusive, to the twentieth after the Full Moon following the vernal Equinox (e): But the Usage which was at this time more generally received, and here contended for, was that which was called the Rule of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* (f), and this was the first *Sunday* from the fourteenth Day at Evening, till the one and twentieth of the Moon following the Vernal Equinox. (g)

(d) *Bed. Eccles.*
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 25.

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *Ibid.*

(h) *Ibid.*
(i) *Socrates*
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 5. c. 21.

This, as *Wilfrid* pretended, was the Rule established by the Council of *Nice* (h); but in this he contradicts the Authority of *Socrates*, (i) who saith, that that Council

cil did not determine, but recommend a general Unity : And *Eusebius* saith much the same thing, (a) only adds, that it was there decreed, that the Christians should not follow the usage of the *Jews* (b); and indeed, notwithstanding all the Zeal of *Wilfrid*, and those of his Party, to shelter their pretence under the Authority of that Council, and the Names of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and the first Ages of the *Romish* Church, it is very evident, that the Cycle and Computation, upon which this side of the Controversie was grounded, had its beginning from the *Greeks*, and not till after the Council of *Nice*; yet it must be confessed, that that Cycle was at this time generally received, and that the *Britons* and *Scots* were at this time singular in their observance of this Festival.

And so they might have continued, and in Peace and Charity too, had the Spirit, as well as the Usages of the first Ages descended to the present Age; for *Eusebius* (c) and *Socrates* (d) have both observed, that till the sower and peevish Zeal of *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, disturbed the Quiet and Peace of Christendom, every Church sat quiet and undisturb'd in the enjoyment of its own Usages; and notwithstanding their different Ceremonies, a common Spirit of Peace and Charity dwelt amongst them; and when that undiscreeet Prelate interrupted it, *Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*, very justly, and with great sharpness reproved him for it (e).

SECT. III. *Wilfrid* had the more general Usage on the side he pleaded for, and said all the Controversie about *Easter* was capable of; but if he had oblig'd the World with the History and Foundation of the Ecclesiastick Tonsure, the second Article in this famous Controversie, he had outdone the Charity of preceding Ages: *St. Paul* has told us, *That if a Man wear long hair it is a shame to him*; and there is no doubt but this Consideration, and the general Precepts of the Gospel, had introduced into the Church a general modesty and decency of Attire; especially amongst those who were to be Examples, as well as Pastors to the Church of *Christ*.

But beyond this, Antiquity has given us no footsteps of the Ecclesiastick Tonsure; and *Bede* has left us in the dark, as to the Arguments on this subject; only the Writer of *Wilfrid's* Life has told us, that the Ecclesiastick Tonsure was a cutting the Hair of such Persons

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 46.

as were to receive any Holy Function, in the form of our Saviour's Crown of Thorns (a). If human Nature had not a dark side, and daily experience taught one, that the Zeal of good Men seldom bears true proportion to the Subjects of it, one would wonder how an Usage of this kind should creep into the Church; but much more, that it should ever be thought a subject big enough to divide it. This was called the Tonsure of St. Peter (b).

(b) Ibid.

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 24.

These Affairs having been thus debated, and with great heat on both sides, it was at last concluded, by King *Oswy*, in favour of the Catholick *Easter*, and the Ecclesiastick Tonsure (c). *Colman*, Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, and such of the Clergy and Nobility as favoured the other side, were very uneasy: As for *Colman*, he so resented this Resolution, that he some time after quitted his Bishoprick, and, after some time returned to *Ireland*, his Country (d): It is very probable, that was what the other side expected, and desired; and *Tuda*, one of the opposite, succeeded *Colman* (e), but *Tuda* dying in a few Months, by the Interest of King *Alfred*, *Wilfrid*, though yet but about thirty Years of Age, was chosen Bishop of the *Northern English* (f).

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 56.

Although the chief intention of this Synod was to open a way to a Communion betwixt the Churches of the *English*, which followed the Usages of the *Britons* and *Scots*, and those established by the Missionaries from *Rome*; yet it is observable, that *Wilfrid* did not so much as pretend, that the Bishop of *Rome*, or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by vertue of any Delegation from the See of *Rome*, had any Authority over the Church of the *Northern Saxons*; or that the Model of Pope *Gregory* was any way obliging; but on the other side he gave the most publick Testimony, that it was possible to give, to the contrary.

(g) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 57.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Ibid.
Et Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 28.

For he was no sooner chosen Bishop, but he proposed, that he might go into *France*, and there be consecrated, (g) though the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Deus dedit*, was yet living; and with the consent both of the King and all the Party, he was at the publick Charge sent over thither (h), and was there Consecrated by *Agilbertus*, Archbishop of *Paris* (i). This was the same Person who had been present at the 'foresaid Synod, and who had quitted

quitted the Bishoprick of the *West-Saxons*, because the King thereof had divided that Bishoprick without his consent, and erected a new See at *Winchester*; and being returned to *France*, his Native Country, was made Archbishop of *Paris*, and was in that Post when *Wilfrid* applied to him for Consecration; and though the Consecration of the Metropolitans of other Provinces be the first and distinguishing Right of the Primate of a National Church; and the consecrating of the Bishops of the Province, the common Right of every Metropolitan; and this Instance a direct contradiction to the model and appointment of *Gregory* (a), yet we do not find that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* ever complained, or that *Wilfrid* was ever blamed for it.

(a) *Gregor.*
Epist. Lib. 12.
Epist. 15.

Whereas if *Deus dedit*, at this time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had been esteemed as Metropolitan of *England*, according to the Model of *Gregory*, that Prelate could not have over-looked the Affront, nor *Wilfrid* have passed uncensured: And this Instance confirms what is observed by *Bede*, that *Theodore* was the first Person owned as Metropolitan of *England*; however bringing the *Northern English* to a Resolution, to submit to the Rites of the *Roman Church*, was of great importance to the Missionaries.

SECT. IV. Thus far things sorted to the desire of that Party, which aimed at changing the Rites and Usages of the Churches under the *Scotish* Establishment; but *Wilfrid* delaying his return from *France* a little too long, the Interests of the *Quarto decimans* prevailed in the Court of *Osmy*; and, by the consent of that Prince, *Ceada*, a Scot from *Ireland*, and who is thought to have been Brother (b) to *Ceadda*, at this time Bishop of *London*, was made Bishop of the *Northumbrians*. *Ceada* being elected, the King appointed that he should go to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to be Consecrated (c), but that Prelate dying before the Bishop elect could arrive at *Canterbury*, he went into the *West*, and was Consecrated by *Wini*, Bishop of *Winchester* (d); and *Wilfrid* was forced to retire to his Abby again (e); so fickle and unsteady are the Favours of a Court.

(b) *Wharton*
de Epif. Lond.
pag. 12.

(c) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 3.
Cap. 29.

(d) *Ibid.*
(e) *Eddii*
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV Scriptor.
pag. 58.

But though this was doubtless a great Mortification to the Party of *Wilfrid*, yet it seems very evident, that it was owing rather to the Personal Failings of *Wilfrid*, than

Anno
664.

Anno
664.

than any change in the Sentiments of the King; for if we take the Character of *Wilfrid* from his Conduct, and the Pomp and Luxury he afterwards introduced into the Church, he appears a Man of a daring, aspiring, and vain-glorious Temper, and one who affected Noise and Shew; and it is probable, that his Spirit or Conduct laid him open to the opposite Party, which was too considerable to be overcome and insulted at once.

(a) *Ejusdem*
pag. 63.

For as it appears, that after his Restoration to his Bishoprick, *Wilfrid's* Attendance and way of Living were such, that in his Habit, his Arms, the Magnificence of his Houses, the greatness of his Train, his Wealth and Riches, he is said to equal the State and Pomp of Kings (a); so on the other hand it appears, that notwithstanding this compliance with the Enemies of *Wilfrid*, the Kings, both Father and Son, remained steady in their Resolution to receive the Rites and Usages of the *Roman* Church, and unite with that Church which the Missionaries from thence had planted in these Nations.

(b) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 29.

SECT. V. And as this manifestly appeared in the choice of *Cedda* and *Tuda*, both of that Party, and by sending *Cedda* to receive his Consecration at *Canterbury*; so a little time afforded a fresh opportunity to put this Matter past all doubt; for *Deus Dedit*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying not long after this Synod, *Osmy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and *Ecgbert*, King of *Kent*, after some debate on the Affairs of Religion, came to this Resolution, that they would choose some Person of the *English* Nation to succeed in the See of *Canterbury*, whom they would send to *Rome* to be consecrated, according to the Ceremonies and Usages of that Church; and who, for the time to come, might, on the same foot, establish the Discipline of the *English* Churches, and a succession of Clergy (b); and indeed, the indiscreet Heats on both sides were such, that the Friends and Enemies to the Ecclesiastick Tonsure mutually refused to receive Consecration from each other: And these Heats kept the Princes and People of the different Communications at such distance, and created such Difficulties, and uneasiness of Conversation, that their common Peace and Interest made it necessary to look out for a Remedy.

And

And therefore, in pursuance of the 'foresaid Resolution, *Wighart*, by Birth an *Englishman*, and a Priest bred in the Church of *Kent*, was by common consent chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and with Letters from the Kings of the *Northern* and *Kentish Saxons*, sent to *Rome* to receive his Consecration (a); where the Archbishop elect was received with Marks of Kindness and Respect, futable to the consequence of this Affair; (b) but whilst things were preparing for his Consecration, the new Archbishop died by a Plague then reigning at *Rome* (c).

(a) Ibid. (a)

Anno

666. (a)

(b) Ibid. (b)

(c) Ibid. (c)

This was a great disappointment to the *Saxon* Princes, but at the same time it furnished *Vitalian*, Bishop of *Rome*, with a very advantageous and desirable opportunity to bring that about, which his Predecessors, and the Missionaries from *Rome* had, for above threescore Years, been labouring for in vain.

Hitherto the famed Conversions of the *English*, like those more modern of the *Chineses*, or the pretended Submissions of the *Greek* Church, had served the ends of Ostentation and Noise, but done little towards enlarging the Authority of the See of *Rome*; but having now Commission from the greatest of the *Saxon* Princes, to send them an Archbishop consecrated at *Rome*, *Vitalian* presently casts about to find out a Man fit to be trusted with the Interests of the See of *Rome*; and after some time fixed upon *Theodore* (d), a *Greek* by Nation, born at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and bred a Monk, but a Man of great Spirit and considerable Learning and Conduct; but though *Vitalian* thought fit to trust this Prelate with the care of Souls, yet so jealous was he of the Rites and particular Interests of the *Roman* Church, that he appointed *Adrian* a Monk, not only to attend *Theodore* into *England*, but to be as it were a guard upon him, lest he should introduce the Opinions or Usages of the *Greek* Church (e).

(d) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 1.

(e) Ibid.

SECT. VI. *Theodore* was consecrated the seventh of the Calends of *April*, or the twenty fifth of *March*, in the Year 668 (f); and in *May*, the Year following, he came into *England*, where he approved himself a very active Prelate; and by the Favour and Assistances of those Princes who had called him to that Trust, he changed the whole Face of the *Saxon* Churches; and did more towards enlarging the Authority of the Archbishops

Anno

668.

(f) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 1.

Anno

669.

of *Canterbury*, and the Bishops of *Rome*, than all his Predecessors had done since the coming of *Austin*.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 30.

(b) Edm.
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 58.

Besides what is before related, there were many things which favoured the Union of the Churches, of the *Scotish* and *Roman* Establishment ; for the *East-Saxons* were at this time Tributaries to the *Mercians* (a), and *Wulfere*, the King thereof, had a great Friendship with King *Alfred*, and was a favourer of *Wilfrid* (b), and by frequent Conversation with him rendered very inclinable to come over to the Usages of the *Roman Church* ; and *Faruman*, Bishop of that Kingdom, dying about the time that *Theodore* came into *England*, the Interest of the other side was in a great measure broken by his Death, and that Prince easily brought to join in the Project formed by the Kings of *Northumberland* and *Kent* to unite the *Saxon Churches*.

As for the Kingdoms of the *West-Saxons* and *East-Angles*, they had already received the Usages of the Church of *Kent*, and the *South-Saxons* were yet unconverted : The way was thus prepared for the uniting of the *Saxon Churches*, when *Theodore* came into *Britain* : But his Authority as Metropolitan seems the greatest obstruction to this Affair ; for the Authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had never yet extended beyond the Kingdom of *Kent*.

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 1.

And Men who easily part with Usages, which leave their Interests safe and untouched, are with difficulty brought to submit to Changes which lessen their Rights or their Power. And the whole course of the *Saxon Story* shews they knew no Authority the Bishop of *Rome* had to give them a Metropolitan, against their Wills ; and the independance of the several Kingdoms lay cross the Reason upon which the Authority of Metropolitans was first founded ; and though our Historians are silent therein, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that this was the true reason why *Wilfrid* declined appearing at the first Synod held under *Theodore*, and openly resisted the Authority of the second.

And it is not unlikely that this was the true reason, why that Prelate did, at his first advancement to the See of *York*, choose rather to go to *France* than to *Canterbury* to receive his Consecration. However this Matter be, *Theodore* who seems to be the greatest Man that had ever

ever yet filled his Chair, but of a bold and overbearing Temper, well considering how much it imported him to make a right use of the present juncture of Affairs, was no sooner arrived, but he presently applied himself to secure the Favour and Assistance of the Saxon Princes; and in order thereunto travelled over the greatest part of the *British* Isle (a), and with great Zeal every where recommended the Usages of the *Roman* Church (b).

(a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 2.

(b) Ibid.

SECT. VII. *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*, had distinguished himself by his Zeal and Sufferings for the same Cause; and therefore it seems probable, that his Case was one of the first Subjects of *Theodore's* Care; and there were several things which favoured the hopes *Theodore* had conceived of restoring *Wilfrid* to his Bishoprick; for *Ceada*, who succeeded *Wilfrid*, was an easy, good, and humble Man, and one who had the true Spirit of a Christian Prelate, and considered the weight of the Trust, and the Account which must attend it, more than the Dignity of it.

Anno 670.

And therefore being told by *Theodore*, that he had usurped the Right of *Wilfrid*, and that he was not canonically consecrated, he answered, that it was not Choice but Obedience which had called him to that Trust he was possessed of; and that if there was any defect either in his Title or Consecration he was very ready to part with his Trust, and to retire (c): But *Jarumman*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, dying about this time, the Matter in dispute was thus compromised.

(c) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Ceada having been consecrated by *Wini*, Bishop of *Winchester*, but assisted by two *British* Bishops (d), to remove all Scruples about the validity of his Consecration submitted to the Imposition of *Theodore's* Hands (e), and by the Interest of his Party was removed to *Lichfield* (f); and *Wilfrid* was reconciled to *Osmy*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and by the same Interest restored to his Bishoprick (g).

(d) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 28.

(e) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 2.

(f) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 3.

(g) Ibid.

Whilst advances were thus making towards the Union of the *Saxon* Churches, *Theodore* well knowing that the Impressions owing only to the Arts of Address are seldom lasting; and that no ties are so strong as those which are bound upon Men by a real Interest and Advantage, published a Resolution equally suited to his Character and Design,

Design ; and this was to instruct the *Saxons* in the knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, and in the knowledge of Arithmetick, Geometry, Musick, and other useful parts of Learning ; and in pursuance of this Resolution, he himself, and *Adrian* the Monk, were at some pains on this Subject.

And having brought over Books and Masters, *Theodore* set up Schools, which taught the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues with so good success, that *Bede* saith, there were some of their Scholars, in his time, so perfectly Masters of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, that they were able to speak them with the readiness and fluency of their native Language (a).

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 2.

It is hard to say, whether the Wisdom or the Charity of this Undertaking was the greater. It was easy to see, that the Masters brought from *Rome* would not forget the Usages of that Church, and that the *Saxons* trained under them would readily take the intended Impressions ; and that there was no other way throughly to break the Interest of the *Quarto decimans*, but to outdo the Schools set up by the *Scots*, by setting up other more eminent. It was a wise Thought, and the Success was answerable.

Anno
673.

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 5.

SECT. VIII. Every thing being thus prepared, and the intended Union of the *Saxon* Churches ready for the last hand, a Synod was agreed upon amongst the *Saxon* Princes, which met in *September* this Year (b), at a place called *Herudford*, in the County of *Hertford*, and probably the same place that is now called *Hartford*, and the chief Town of that County. Besides *Theodore*, only four *English* Bishops appeared in Person, and one by his Legate (c), but not one of the *British* Bishops or Clergy.

(c) Ibid.

Wilfrid, Bishop of *York*, appeared by a Deputy ; *Bisi*, Bishop of the *East-Angles* ; *Lutherius*, Bishop of the *West-Saxons* ; and *Winfrid*, Bishop of the *Mercians* ; and *Putta*, Bishop of *Rochester*, appeared in Person ; of which last four, the three former had been consecrated by *Theodore*, and probably raised to that Station by his Interest ; and *Putta*, during the vacancy of the See of *Canterbury*, had been consecrated by *Wilfrid* ; but *Theodore*, as Bishop of the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Kent*, was the rightful Metropolitan to the Bishop of *Rochester*, and had consecrated the other three, and therefore *Theodore*, setting

ting aside his Character as Archbishop, had the fairest Title to the Chair, and did accordingly preside in the Council.

After some Discourse to recommend the unity of the Church, and a just veneration to the Decrees of the first Councils, to which the Council promised obedience, *Theodore* produced a Collection from the ancient (a) ^{(a) Ibid.} Councils, whether his own or the same, which had before been received in the Eastern and Western Churches is not material; but it is not unlikely, that the better to acquaint the *English* with the Discipline and Order of the ancient Church, *Theodore* had brought over a Copy of the Collection or Book of Canons, which is mention'd in the later end of the thirteenth Session of the Council of *Calcedon* (b), and was afterwards confirm'd ^{(b) Concil. Tom. II. Edit. Jurii pag. 187.} in a Novel of the Emperor *Justinian*, and in the sixth Century translated by *Dionysius exiguus*, and received into the Western Church.

And it is most probable, that this was the Book which *Bede* saith, *Theodore* produc'd in this Council: He also added such new Canons, or rather made such alterations in the Canons of the ancient Councils as he thought most needful to fit them to the present state of the *English* Church: And this seems to be the case of the first, the seventh, and the ninth Canons ascribed to that Council. The rest appear much the same, as in the Collection of *Dionysius*; but whether this was the case, or whether the Collection here produced was his own is not very material; but a Collection being produced, ten Canons were agreed upon, of which the first was, that upon which the Union was to be founded, and which did virtually include an acknowledgment of *Theodore's* Authority as Metropolitan; and this was,

1. That *Easter* should be observed in the same manner through the *English* Churches, the first Sunday after the Full Moon of the first Month.
2. The second, That no Bishop should exercise any Authority in the Diocess of another.
3. That Bishops should give no unnecessary Trouble to Religious Houses, nor take any thing from them by force.
4. The fourth directs, That Monks should be subject to the Authority of their Abbots, and not remove to any other Monastery, but with the leave of the Abbot.
5. The fifth requires, That the Clergy

should not remove from one Diocess to another without Letters commendatory from their own Bishops, nor be received in any other Diocess without them; and that in case it so happened that the Offender was retained by the Bishop of the other Diocess, and he did not return the Clerk when required, both the Clerk and the Bishop should be excommunicated. 6. The sixth requires, That Bishops, and the Clergy in their Travels, should not perform any Offices of their Function and Ministry, without the leave of the Bishop of the Diocess wherein they were. 7. The seventh proposes the convening of Synods twice in the Year, but this was thought inconvenient, and therefore agreed by general consent, that a Synod should be held once a Year at *Clofeshoo*, and that the Calends of *August* should be the time of meeting. 8. The eighth directs the precedence of Bishops according to seniority of Consecration. That which passes under the Title of the ninth Article seems rather a subject of Debate, than a Resolution, and Canon of the Council: And this was, 9. That the number of Bishops should be enlarged, as the number of the Faithful increased. 10. The tenth forbids Incest and Fornication, and allows Divorce in case of Adultery, but forbids him that puts away his Wife to marry again, and advises him to be reconciled to her.

Anno

673.

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 4. c. 5.

SECT. IX. These things being agreed upon, they were put into Writing by a publick Notary, and subscribed by the Bishops who were present (a); but besides the 'foresaid Bishops, *Bede* to whom alone Posterity owes the account of this Affair after these words, *Theodorus cogit Concilium Episcoporum*, immediately adds, *Unà cum eis qui canonica patrum statuta diligenter, & nossent, magistris ecclesiæ pluribus*; but he has left us in the dark as to the Persons he here speaks of, and the Interest they had in this Affair; and the other parts of his Story afford us but a very imperfect light.

For tho' it appears, that besides the Cathedral or Episcopal Churches, some other Churches were built by the Saxons before the meeting of this Council; yet it is evident by the ninth Canon of this Council, that a great part of the Nation was yet unconverted; and by the second Canon thereof, that *Parochia*, or Parish was yet used to signify the District or Diocess of the Bishop; and by

by the direction of *Gregory* to *Austin*, the Lower Clergy had no Maintenance separate and distinct from that of their Bishops; and in all probability, the course of their Maintenance was yet the same; and what was done by *Theodore*, towards building of Churches in Cities and Villages, and settling of Parishes, was doubtless of later date.

So that it seems very probable, that Parochial Institutions, as now understood, were unknown in *England* at the time of this Council; and by the best account we have of all the Foreign Councils, the Lower Clergy had never yet been allowed a Suffrage therein in their own Rights, and but seldom a Place; so that upon the whole Matter it seems reasonable to conclude, that the Rights and Interest, which, upon wise and just grounds, the later Ages have allowed the Parochial Clergy in such Assemblies, were yet intirely unknown to the *Saxon* Churches. At least thus much is evident, that the stile, as well of this Council, as of that of *Hatfield*, appropriates the decreeing Power intirely to the Archbishop and Bishops: In the first thereof, immediately before the Canons, *Theodore* inserts his own Name, together with the Names of the Bishops then present; and to them alone ascribes the Suffrage and Consent. And the Stile of the Council of *Hatfield* is, *Præsidente Theodoro gratia Dei Archiepiscopo Britanniaë Insulaë, &c. una cum eo sedentibus cæteris Episcopis Britanniaë Insulaë.* *Theodore*, by the Grace of God, Archbishop of the Isle of *Britain*, and of the City of *Canterbury*, together with his Assessors the Bishops of *Britain*.

So that unless by the many Masters of the Church be here meant, such of the Clergy and Religious as came to accompany their Bishops, and to assist them with their Counsel and Advice, or such as Curiosity, and desire to be instructed in the Rites of the new Communion they were entring into brought hither, together with those who generally attended *Theodore*, and were employed by him in the Instructions of such as were brought over to the Discipline and Rites of the *Roman* Church, we shall be as far to seek for the Character, as we are for the Business of those Men, which *Bede* tells us were present at this Council, and to whom he allows the Title of *Magistri Ecclesiæ*, or Masters of the Church.

Thus

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. II. Ed.
Jurii, p. 728.

Thus much is certain, that before this time the Lower Clergy were allowed a place in some Provincial Synods, but with this difference, that the Priests were allowed to sit behind their Bishops, but the Deacons were obliged to stand in the Ring before them ; for in the fourth Council of *Toledo*, about the time of *Honorius* the First, Bishop of *Rome*, and in the beginning of this Century, the third Canon whereof gives us an account of the manner of holding Provincial Councils (a), it appears that this was then the practice of the *Spanish* Churches: Yet the same Canon makes it evident, that the authoritative and decreeing Power of such Assemblies, was yet lodged in the Bishops only ; and it may be this Canon of *Toledo*, compared with the sixth Canon of the Council of *Clovisboe*, in the Year 816, will be the best comment on the matter under debate.

For since that of *Toledo* makes it plain, that both Priests and Deacons were allowed a place in Provincial Councils, and yet both the forementioned Canons agree in appropriating the decreeing Power to the Bishops, one would think there should remain no further ground for doubt, who are here meant by Masters of the Church, and what Figure they made in this Assembly.

Anno
673.

(b) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 5.

SECT. X. Nor are we better informed of the Authority by which this Council was convened, than of the Persons of whom it did consist. *Bede* ascribes it to *Theodore* (b) ; and those who measure his Authority by the Right of his Successors, generally resolve it into an act of the Metropolitcal Power. *Baronius*, who commonly resolves every thing that can serve their Interest into the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, tells us, it was called by *Theodore*, by Authority from the See of *Rome* (c) ; and it is possible he may be believed by those who judge of their ancient Right, by the modern Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*.

(c) *Baron.*
Annal.
Anno 672.

But nothing is more evident, than that their calling of Synods, without the bounds of the Patriarchate of *Rome*, was an usage yet unknown to the World, and not allowed in *England* till above four hundred Years after this Council. But one that considers the present state of the *Saxon* Affairs, will be very apt to conclude, that the conveniency of this Council was owing to the *Saxon* Princes ; who, upon the desire of *Theodore*, con-

sented

sented to, and appointed the meeting of their Bishops, for the establishment of a National Church; and which is more, it seems very evident that *Theodore* owed his Metropolitcal Authority entirely to their Consent and Agreement.

Thus much is certain, that the Catholick Church took pattern, in this Instance, from the State, and fixed the Metropolitan where the Empire had first fixed the Metropolis of the Province; but that the Bishop of the chief City of a Province should extend his Authority beyond the bounds of the Province, or carry it into a separate and independant Province, was a direct contradiction to the reason upon which this Institution of Metropolitans was founded, and without a Precedent in the usage of the Church; and the Reason is still stronger, where Kingdoms are independant.

And this was the case of *Theodore*; so that as Archbishop of *Canterbury* he had just as much reason to claim the submission of the Bishops of the other Kingdoms, as the King of *Kent* had to demand their Crowns: He had indeed all the Right the Bishops of *Rome* could give, and so had the Sees of *London* and *York*; for *Gregory the Great* appointed that those Cities should be the Seats of the future Metropolitans (a). And *Honorius* confirmed his Grant to the See of *York*, and sent a Pall to *Paulinus*, Bishop thereof (b). And when time had established the Authority the Bishops of *Rome* did in after Ages usurp, the Bishops of *York* did, upon this ground, during the greatest part of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, struggle with those of *Canterbury* for the Primacy: And it is not without ground, that the Writers of *Becket's* Story, charge *Gilbert Foliot*, Bishop of *London*, the great opposer of that Prelate, with a design to raise his See to the state of an Archbishoprick, and assert the independance thereof on that of *Canterbury* (c).

Yet for above an Age after the Death of *Paulinus*, the Bishop of *York*, his Successors remained in the state of private Bishops; and for ought appears to the contrary, unless we may credit *John* of *Salisbury*, the Bishops of *London* never pretended to any advantage from the Grant of *Gregory the Great*; but have quietly remained in the state of private Bishops ever since.

(a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 1. cap. 29.

(b) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 17.

(c) Wharton de Epist. Lond. p. 62.

In short, whatever the favourers of the Court of *Rome* may pretend to, he who considers the present state of the *Saxon* and *Roman* Church; and in particular what is said before, and what the case of *Wilfrid*, (at this time Bishop of *York*) will quickly call me to relate, will see great reason to resolve the Union of the *Saxon* Churches; and as a necessary preliminary to that Union, the admission of *Theodore*, as Metropolitan of the said Churches, into the favour of the *Saxon* Princes, and conclude their Conduct in this whole Matter, founded on convenience and reasons of State, and not in a belief, that the Bishops of *Rome* had any Authority from Right, to intermeddle in the Affairs of the Churches under their Government; much less to oblige them to own the Bishop of another Kingdom as their Metropolitan,

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. II. Edit.
Surii pag. 187.

Nor did these Princes assume a greater Power in their own Dominions, than the Council of *Chalcedon* had declared the unquestionable Right of the Emperor; for when it became a Question in that Council (a), whether the Bishops of *Nice* and *Nicomedia* had a Right to the Title and Authority of Metropolitans, all that that Council thought needful to determine in that Affair, was no more than producing the Imperial Edicts, by which those Cities were constituted Metropolies: And these being read, the Right of the respective Bishops was immediately allowed; and there is no doubt but the *English* Princes had the same Right to dispose their own Favours to their own Cities; and in consequence thereof, those Ecclesiastical Privileges, which by the Consent and Usage of the Catholick Church were allowed to follow the Civil Rights and Preeminences of Cities.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

Ab Anno 673 ad Annum 680.

SECT. I. **T**erms on which the Churches of the Scottish and Roman Communions were united. Hardships on the English and Scottish Clergy. Changes of Worship and Discipline, which ensued. Auricular Confession, before unknown to the English Church, introduced. That Rite not then esteemed a Sacrament.

II. The haughty and violent Conduct of Theodore. The new Union resented by the English Clergy. Winfrid Bishop of Lichfield deposed.

III. Beginning of Wilfrid's Troubles: The true ground thereof.

IV. Some Reflections on the Hardships which fell on Wilfrid. The Bishoprick of York divided. A third Bishoprick founded at Hagulstad.

V. Bishoprick of Seydnacester founded.

VI. Wilfrid goes to Rome, finds a Council assembled to prepare Instructions to be sent to the Council of Constantinople.

VII. Speculations of Petrus de Marca, and Mr. Schelstrate, from this Journey of Wilfrid.

VIII. Mr. Schelstrate's Argument from hence, to prove the extent of the Roman Patriarchate, considered.

IX. Wilfrid not the Legate of the English Church, as Binius, &c. pretend. The absurdity of that pretence.

X. Conjectures, on which the Opinions of Binius and Baronius are founded, groundless.

XI. A probability that there was no such Patriarchal Council, as that where Wilfrid is said to be present.

XII. Conjecture about the occasion of the Mistakes about that Council, if such, Wilfrid not present thereat.

XIII. A short Account of Wilfrid's Conduct at Rome. The occasions of the Confusions and Mistakes about him.

XIV. Mistakes of Binius, Baronius, Labbe, and Schelstrate, about the bounds of the Roman Patriarchate shewed from History, Council of Constantinople.

XV. Mi-

XV. *Judgment of Pope Agatho in favour of Wilfrid. Wilfrid sent to England with it: Rejected by Theodore and the English Bishops; and Wilfrid sent to Prison for insisting on it.*

Anno
673.

SECT. I. **B**UT whatever the Reasons were upon which the Council of *Hertford* founded the Union of the *English* Churches, that Council gives us the first view of a National *English* Church, united under one common Metropolitan, and gives us some light into the Terms upon which the Churches, before independant on each other, were united into one. And it is very probable, that this change in the Government, occasioned much greater Alterations in the Discipline and Worship of the *Saxon* Churches.

(a) Theodori
Penitent. Ed.
Petit. cap. 9.
pag. 8.

For though no other terms of Communion are mentioned in this Council, but observing of *Easter* after the manner of the Western Churches; yet it appears by the Penitential, ascribed to *Theodore* (a), that the Bishops who had been consecrated by the *Scots* or *Britons*, were not to be admitted to the Offices of their Function, without the Imposition of the Hands of a Catholick Bishop: That *Chrism*, and the Holy *Eucharist*, were permitted to those only who made profession of re-uniting themselves to the Church (b); and that those who doubted of their Baptism were directed to be re-baptized (c).

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

These terms of Communion lie so open to reproachful Reflections on the Truth and Honour of the Churches, wherein the greatest part of the *English* People had received their Baptism, that it is hard to say, whether there was more Insolence in imposing on the one side, or more Mortification on the other in submitting to them.

Thus did *Theodore* unite the Churches of the *Scotish* and *Roman* Establishments, and bring those who had long refused it, to join in Communion with the Church planted in *England* by the Missionaries from *Rome*. And if Judgment be made by the Penitential, or as the Judicious and Learned *Monsieur du Pin* more properly calls it the Ritual of *Theodore*, the *English* had a multitude of burthensome and trifling Ceremonies in exchange for a Worship, much more agreeable to the plainness and simplicity of the Gospel.

Amongst

Amongst other changes in the Discipline of the Church, *Theodore* endeavoured to introduce Auricular Confession, (a) an Usage which, according to the account that *Egbert*, Archbishop of *York*, gives of it in the beginning of the next Century, was before unknown to the *English*, converted by the *Scots* and *Britons* (b) : but to do right to *Theodore*, the same Author saith, this Usage was limited to the Fast of the tenth Month ; and then design'd for to prepare the Laity, as well as Clergy and Monastics, for the devout receiving the Body and Blood of Christ at the Nativity of our blessed Saviour (c).

(a) *Egberti
Dialogus,
pag. 281.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

But so far was the Church of *England* from being acquainted with the late Doctrines of the Council of *Trent*, which not only gives Confession a place amongst the Sacraments of the Church, but asserts its being received by the universal Church, as an Institution of Christ (d), and pronounces an *Anathema* on all that deny a Sacramental Confession to be necessary to Salvation (e), that *Egbert* says, it was not received into the Church of *England*, till the time of *Theodore*, cotemporary with *Vitalian*, Bishop of *Rome*, (f). And at the time of Writing this Discourse of *Egbert*, concerning the Discipline of the Church, which I take to be about the middle of the Eighth Century, and about forty or fifty Years after the Death of *Theodore*.

(d) *Seffio. 14.
cap. 5.*

(e) *Seffio. 14.
cap. 6.*

(f) *Egberti
Dialogus de
Instit. Eccles.
pag. 281.*

Egbert, then Archbishop of *York*, and Master to *Alcuinus*, and one of the greatest Men of that Age, speaks of Confession, as introduced but about fifty Years before ; and as a Rite which by Usage was then growing up into Reputation, but not bound upon the Consciences of Men by any authoritative Act of the Church of *England*, or any Precept of the Gospel ; but we hear nothing of its being a Sacrament of Christ's Institution, or received as such by the Universal Church, or of its being necessary to Salvation ; but, on the contrary, *Egbert's* Account of this Usage, puts it beyond a doubt, that the *Northern English* did not receive it from the *Scots*, from whom they received their Christianity ; but, on the contrary it appears, that the *Scots* were so far from teaching this Doctrine to the *English*, that in an Epistle of *Alcuinus* to the *Scots*, wrote about an hundred Years after this time, it was then a receiv'd Opinion amongst the *Scots*, that Confession was not to be made to a Priest, but to

(a) Spondan.
Epit. Baron.
Annal. An.
778.

God alone (a) : No, this was a new Usage introduced by *Theodore* ; and the changes of this kind were the Conversion the Saxons owed entirely to the *Romish* Missionaries.

And *Theodore* had so great a share therein, that if we judge, as too many do, by the Services to the *Roman* Communion, rather than the common Interests of the Christian Faith, he will more than rival *Austin*, in his pretence to the Title of the *English* Apostle ; and his See was no less obliged to him ; for the Title, at least the Authority, which Time and Usage have made the unquestionable Right of his Successors, were owing to his Conduct ; who, as *Bede* saith, was the first Person that was ever owned as Archbishop of the *English* Church (b).

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 2.

And if there be truth in the observation of *Mezeray*, that the Title of Archbishop was not given to Metropolitans, till the Eighth Century, nor in use before that time, his See is not only indebted to *Theodore* for the Authority of a Metropolitan, but for a precedence of Title, other parts of the Western Church were not yet acquainted with : And *Theodore* was not only the first Archbishop of the *English*, but one of the first Archbishops in the Western Church ; but there is reason to think, that great Man is mistaken, and that he who looks into the Epistles of *Gregory the Great*, or before his time, into the Novels of *Justinian*, will find reason enough to think so.

Anno
676.

SECT. II. Though the previous Resolution of the Saxon Princes to unite into one National Church, made every thing in this Council sort to the desire of *Theodore*, yet it seems very probable, that this Revolution was better liked by the *English* Clergy, in the Idea and first Notions thereof, than in the issue and practice of it ; and that this Consideration added to the overbearing Temper of *Theodore*, was the reason why his new Authority was so often crossed and ruffled by the Clergy ; and that this forced him upon the violent Methods which *Bede* relates.

The first Person which fell under his displeasure was *Winfred*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, he had been consecrated by *Theodore*, and present with him at the Synod of *Hertford* ; yet about this time he is said to be deposed by that Prelate.

Bede

Bede gives no account of the circumstances of that Proceeding, and saith no more of the reason of it, but that it was *propter meritum cujusdam inobedientiæ*, (a) occasioned by some slight or disobedience to the Authority of *Theodore*; but at the same time he saith of *Winfrid*, that after his Deposition he retired to the Monastery of *Aetbearne*, where he spent the remainder of his Life in great Piety and Devotion (b).

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 6.*

(b) *Ibid.*

This Deposition was before the second Council, under *Theodore* held at *Hatfield*, and was not followed by the erecting of new Bishopricks, as in the case of *Wilfrid*; and therefore it seems most probable, that although his Deposition be ascribed to *Theodore*, and doubtless he was at the Head of the Interest by which it was accomplished; yet both the nature of the Metropolitick Power, and the bounds prescribed to it by the Canons of the Catholick Church, as well as the present circumstances of Affairs, incline one to think, that *Winfrid* was not forced from his Station by any act of the Metropolitick Power, which hitherto knew of no other way of deposing Bishops but in Synod; but that this Deposition was the act of the Civil Power: And accordingly *Eddius* (c) saith, that the Cause of *Wilfrid* was heard in the Court of the King of *Mercia* (d); and instead of saying he was Deposed, saith, he was driven from his Bishoprick; and it is not unlikely, that the hardship which fell upon that Prelate, was owing to the Interest of the Union; and that his nonconformity to the Terms thereof, was the chief reason of it.

(c) *Eddii Vit. Wilfridi Cap. 24. XV. Scriptor. pag. 63.*
(d) *Ejusdem pag. 64.*

Unless we rather think, it was occasioned by the opposition which he made to King *Etheldred* and *Theodore*, in a Design they had formed to subdivide and erect new Bishopricks in the Kingdom of *Mercia*; but whatever occasioned it, it appears that *Winfrid* quitted his Bishoprick; and that *Sexulfus*, Founder of the Monastery of *Peterborough*, succeeded him therein, about three Years after the Council of *Hertford* (e).

(e) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 6.*

SECT. III. About two Years after, *Winfrid*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, had quitted his Station, *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York* followed him in the same Fate; and it is not unlikely, that his Sufferings sprung from a Reason of the same kind, at least, that this was the ground upon which *Theodore* was induced to stand still, without attempting

Anno 678.

attempting to prevent his Exile, or intercede for his Restoration.

For though there is no doubt but he was sincere in his Zeal for the Ceremonies and Usages of the new Church; yet one who judges of his Spirit and Character, by his pompous living, and the perpetual Broils he was engaged in, being no less than three times driven from his Bishoprick, will be very apt to think he was uneasy under the authority of the new Metropolitan; and if this was not the reason of his Banishment by *Ecgfrid*, yet the Writer of his Story saith, that his refusing to submit to the Canons of *Theodore*, was one of the reasons of his Exile by *Alcfred*, Successor to *Ecgfrid*, in the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* (a).

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 44. XV.
Scriptor. p. 75.

And indeed if *Gregory the First*, or *Honorius*, Bishops of *Rome*, had any Right to appoint Metropolitans in *England*, *Wilfrid* and his See had doubtless a great deal of Wrong: But his Wrong was not such as those make it, who pretend to say he was deposed by *Theodore*; for it does not appear that *Theodore* had any concern in that Affair, further than in the Consecration of the Bishops who succeeded him, and in continuing in the Interest of the King of the *Northumbrians*; and probably approving the Fact after it was done. For *Bede*, speaking of the Transactions of this Year, thus delivers his Account of

(b) Quo etiam anno orta inter ipsum Regem Ecgfridum, & Reverendissimum Antistitem Wilfridum, dissentione, pulsus est idem Antistes à sede sui Episcopatus, & duo in ejus locum substituti Episcopi. Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. c. 12.

this Affair (b): *This Year*, saith he, *a dispute arising betwixt King Ecgfride, and the most Reverend Bishop Wilfrid, that Prelate was driven from his Bishoprick, and two new Bishops substituted in his room.* And the Writer of *Wilfrid's Life*, who was also a partaker with him in his Sufferings, agrees in this Account (c), wherein there is nothing that looks like the Act of a Metropolitan.

(c) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 63.

But on the contrary it is evident he was overwhelmed by a strain of the Civil Authority; and as the *Saxon Chronicle* saith, deprived by King *Ecgfride* (d). The reason the Writer of *Wilfrid's Life* gives of this Proceeding, seems rather to justify the King than the Prelate, whose Accusation, he saith, was *his secular Pomp, his Riches, multitude of Abbies, magnificence of his Houses, the innumerable Army of his Followers, cloathed and*

(d) Chron.
Saxon. An.
678.

(e) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 63.

armed as Princes (e). Reasons enough to awake the Jealousie

lousie of a Prince, and in some measure excuse the effects thereof; for when the Clergy forget their own Character, Princes are less blameable if they forget it too.

But the Account the Writer of the Life of *Etheldreda*, Queen of the *Northumbrians*, publish'd by the *Benedictines*, seems fully to explain what both *Bede* and *Eddius* have thought fit to leave in the dark, and to give the true secret of *Wilfrid's* Banishment; and this was an Intrigue of that Prelate to get that Princess divorced from her Husband King *Ecgride*; for that Author tells us, that Princess having set her Heart upon Chastity and Retirement, so steddily refused the Embraces of the King her Husband, that his Right, his Authority, and Perswasions, the Injustice done him, and the Temptations he was thereby exposed to, made no impressions upon her.

And *Wilfrid*, who, if that Writer says true, had the greatest influence upon that Princess, was so far from attempting to set her Conscience right, that that Author saith, that (a) Queen *Etheldreda*, by the Advice of *Wilfrid*, importuned the King to grant her a Divorce; and at last, without the consent of the King, withdrew her self to a Monastery, and took the Veil from the hands of *Wilfrid* (b). The King endeavoured to bring her back again, but all in vain.

(a) Regina *Etheldreda* monitis presulis *Wilfridi* edocta divortium a rege diu postulaverit; sed vix obtinens, Monasterium subiit, & velamen sanctitatis ab eo suscepit. Vita *Etheldridæ* Act. Benedict. seculo 20. pag. 748.

(b) Ibid.

This his ill success turned his Passion for that Princess into a rage against *Wilfrid*; and he had the share of it which he had deserved; for the Writer of that Princess's Story, saith of that King, 'From that time

' the King had not that inward esteem for
' the Holy Confessor *Wilfrid*, which formerly
' he had, but silently concealed his Anger till
' he had a fit opportunity to shew it; and
' then for his proceeding in this Affair drove

Nec deinceps Confessorem domini cum *Wilfridum*, a Secretis, seu affectu ut ante coluit, sed iram diu tacito contra illum sub pectore gessit; & expectata hora, ob istiusmodi causam, eum de sede sui Episcopatus expulit.

' him from his Bishoprick (c); and the *Historia Eliensis* gives the same Account of *Wilfrid's* Banishment, and for the most part in the very same words (d).

(c) *Ejusdem* pag. 750.

(d) *Anglia Sacra. Pars I.* p. 598.

But so different are the Judgments of Men, that the same Actions which seem justly to have exposed this Princess to Censure, and *Wilfrid* to Punishment, did, in the Opinion of those who wrote their Story, make the one a Saint, and the other a Confessor.

SECT. IV. But if the Conduct of *Wilfrid* in this particular was capable of excuse, yet when one looks a little backward, and observes how *Colman*, late Bishop of the *Northumbrians*, was driven from the same Station, and how hardly the *Scotish* Clergy had been treated by the *Northern English*, who owed their Conversion to them; and that *Wilfrid* was at the head of the Party, who were the doers of it, and was rewarded with the Chair of the Holy Prelate, who, by his Interest, was obliged to abandon it.

The Behaviour of *Wilfrid* appears so capable of severe Reflections, that if the ill nature and presumption of bold interpretations of Providence, did not render it unsafe to judge of things of such dark and uncertain nature, one would be too apt to think the Hardships that fell upon *Wilfrid*, were conducted by the Divine Justice; but if this was the case, yet the Mercy and Goodness of God waited upon his Rod; for, in time, this hardship upon *Wilfrid* opened a way to make him a great Instrument of God's Glory in the conversion of the *South-Saxons*; and for the present, his Diocese and his Country gained all that *Wilfrid* lost, by being driven from them. As for the Wealth which fell from him, like the Mantle of *Elijah*, it fell upon his Brethren; and, upon his Banishment, the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, before but one Bishoprick, was divided into two.

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 12.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

Anno

678.

(d) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 12.*

Bosa was made Bishop of *York* (a), and a new Bishoprick was founded under the old name of the Bishoprick of *Lindisfarne*, or *Hagalstad*, now *Hexam* in *Northumberland* (b), and *Eata* was made Bishop thereof. And about three Years after, this later Bishoprick was again divided into two, and a new See planted at *Hagulstad*, and *Trumbert* was made Bishop thereof; and *Eata*, the former Bishop, had his Title limited to that of Bishop of *Lindisfarne* only (c).

SECT. V. And about the time that this Diocese was first divided, *Ecgride* founded another Bishoprick at *Syd-nacester* in *Lincolnshire* (d), near the *Humber*; for that Prince having defeated *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, and possessed himself of that part of *Lincolnshire* which was, and is still known by the Name of *Lindesey*; and which was before a part of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, caused a Bishoprick to be erected in his new Conquest, by

by the name of the Bishoprick of *Sydnacester*,¹ or of *Lindsey*, and put this Trust into the hands of *Eadhead*: And this first Bishop of *Sydnacester* was consecrated at *York*, together with *Bosa*, the new Bishop thereof, and *Eata* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, by *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* (a).

But the settlement of *Eadhead* was as short lived as the Glories of *Ecgfride's* Conquest, for *Edilred* succeeding *Wulfere* in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, recovered the Province which he had lost, and at once forced *Eadhead* from his Bishoprick (b), *Ecgfride* from the possession of the Country he had conquered, and put an end to the Bishoprick of *Sydnacester*, till it was restor'd again by the Authority of *Edilred*, some time in the next, or the Year following.

Eadhead retired to the Monastery of *Ripon* in *Yorkshire*, a Monastery built by *Wilfrid*, and which, upon his Exile being become void, was conferred upon *Eadhead*, in which station that Prelate continued till he died; but the Bishoprick of *Sydnacester* being restored by *Edilred*, King of the *Mercians*, *Edilwine* was made Bishop thereof.

SECT. VI. Whilst these things were doing in *Britain*, *Wilfrid*, and his exiled Followers, made the best of their way to *Rome*, where he arrived the latter end of this, or the beginning of the following Year. *Agatho the First*, at this time Bishop of *Rome*, was employed in preparing Persons and Instructions for the sixth General Council, called by the Emperor to meet at *Constantinople*; and, besides the obligation he was under from the Command of the Emperor, the Honour of his See, which had suffer'd by the Miscarriage of his Predecessors *Honorius* and *Vitalian*, laid a more particular obligation upon *Agatho*, if not to vindicate those Prelates from the reproach of favouring the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, yet at least to cover himself and his See from the like dishonour, by clearing himself from all suspicion of favouring that Heresy.

And that he might be sensible how much this imported him, in the Epistle of the Emperor *Constantine* to *Donus*, who was *Agatho's* immediate Predecessor, and Bishop of *Rome* when this Council was first summoned, he tells that Prelate, that the Bishops of the *East* were so offended at

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

Anno 679.

(e) Ibid.

Anno 679.

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 598.

at *Vitalian*, late Bishop of *Rome*, that *Macarius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, had petitioned that his Name might be left out of the *Dypticks* of the Church (a).

(b) *Concil.*
Tom. 8. Edit.
Lab. Col. 611.

And whatever has been said to the contrary, *Honorius*, Bishop of *Rome*, is expressly charged with the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, in the first Session of that Council (b):

(c) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 1117.

And the truth of this Charge is allowed in the Epistle of Pope *Leo*, the second Successor to *Agatho*, inserted in the History of this Council (c); besides, the Quarrel about Precedence betwixt the Bishop of *Constantinople* and *Rome* was not yet forgotten. These Considerations made it very necessary for *Agatho* to be well advised of the Instructions and Persons sent to this Council; and therefore he convened a Synod of his own Clergy, which was assembled at this time when *Wilfrid* came to *Rome*.

Anno
679.

SECT. VII. This Circumstance, together with the application of *Wilfrid* to the See of *Rome*, have given occasion to Speculations very different; and at once

(d) *Antiquit.*
illustrat. pag.
104. Sect. 115.

served as an Argument to *Monsieur Schelstrate* (d), to prove the Right of the Bishop of *Rome* to convene the whole Western Church to his Councils; and to the Learned *Petrus de Marca*, to advance his Right to Appeals (e).

(e) *Concord.*
Sacerdot. &
Imper. Lib. 7.
cap. 18. Sect.
15. pag. 349.

And yet whilst these Arguments seem to serve one Cause, the Suppositions on which they are founded mutually destroy each other; for that *Wilfrid* should come to *Rome*, by vertue of a Summons from Pope *Agatho*, as the representative of the *English* Church, as *Monsieur Schelstrate* supposes; and yet, at the same time, appeal from the Authority of the Church he came to represent, as a Person oppressed and injured by it, as the Learned *de Marca*, is just as likely, as that a Prince should at once banish a Man from his Kingdom, and trust him with the Secrets and Interests thereof, and honour him with the Character of his Ambassador, whilst he remained an Exile.

Nor is it easy to say, whether the Reasonings of these two Great Men, how cross soever they appear to each other, agree better with truth of History, than they do with one another; for though *Agatho*, who executed the Imperial Edict, directed to *Donus*, his Predecessor, had the same Authority that the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Jerusalem*, and *Alexandria* had; and was, by the

the Edict of the Emperor required to transmit the Sentiments of the several Metropolitans within the *Roman* Patriarchate, relating to the Matter in Controversy; and in pursuance thereof, called the Bishops of his own Province to *Rome*, where, by themselves, and their Presbyters, who represented such as could not be personally present, appeared to the number of about fifty.

(a) *Wilfrid* was admitted into this Provincial Synod, and probably in that Assembly gave an Account of the Doctrine of the *English, British, and Scottish Churches*, with relation to the Matter in Controversy; and it is probable, that in obedience to the Emperor, *Agatho* required the several Metropolitans, within the *Roman* Patriarchate, to convene their respective Provincial Councils, and in due manner transmit the Results thereof, and that he was obeyed therein.

SECT. VIII. Yet all this is so far from being sufficient ground for *Monsieur Schelstrate* to affirm, that the *Roman* Patriarchate extended to the whole Western Church; or proving that *Agatho* sent his Summons to all the Western Bishops to appear at his Council at *Rome* (b), much less what he insinuates, and would have believed, that in obedience thereunto, *Wilfrid* appeared as the Proctor of the *English Church*; that the History of this Council puts it beyond all doubt, to every impartial Reader, that a considerable part of *Italy* it self was not, at this time, within the Patriarchate of *Rome*.

For it appears, by almost every Session of this Council, that the whole number of Bishops, who are said to be subject to the Council of the Bishop of *Rome*, and whose Judgments he at this time transmitted to the Council, did amount in all but to one hundred and twenty five (c); these were represented in this General Council, by *John* Bishop of *Portua*, *Abundantius* Bishop of *Paterno*, *John* Bishop of the City of *Reggio*, under the Title of the Proctors or Representatives of the Council of old *Rome*, consisting of one hundred twenty five Bishops; and as the Council subject to the Bishop of *Rome*, was thus represented, so *Agatho* was represented by *Theodore* and *George*, two Presbyters, and *John* a Deacon (d).

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 65.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 65.

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 65.

Anno
679.

(b) E. Schellst.
Antiq. illustr.
pag. 104.
Scell. 115.

(c) Concil.
Constant.
Actio prima.

Locum presentantibus cen-
tum viginti quinque venera-
bilium Episcoporum sancti
Concilii antiquae Romae, qui
per proprias subscriptiones
demonstrantur in suggestione
ab iis facta ad plissimum Im-
peratorem Constantinum.

(d) Ibid.

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 594.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Eddii*
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 65.
(e) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 579.

(f) *Spondan.*
Epit. Annal.
An. 649.
(g) *Bed. Eccl.*
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 18.

If this Account be compared with the Mandate of the Emperor, which requires the Bishop of *Rome* to convene the Council of the Apostolick See (a), and to send to *Constantinople* some of the Metropolitans subject to the See of *Rome*, not exceeding the number of twelve, to represent the Council thereof (b); and to send three Persons to represent his own particular Province (c), it will be very evident, that the Council subject to the Apostolick See, mentioned both in the Summons of the Emperor, and in almost every Session of this Council, and which is said to consist of a hundred and twenty five Bishops, cannot be meant of a proper Provincial Synod of the Bishop of *Rome* called upon this occasion; for it appears, that that Provincial Assembly consisted but of fifty Persons (d), and of them the Presbyters were the greater number (e); but of the Patriarchal Council, or the Council said to be made up of the Bishops sent to *Rome*, from the several Provinces within the *Roman* Patriarchate.

And agreeably hereunto, in a Patriarchal Council under Pope *Martin the First*, about the Year 649, the Bishops who subscribed the Decrees amount to about one hundred and ten (f); according to *Bede*, to one hundred and five (g); and yet not one of the *French* or *Spanish* Bishops is included in that number; so that here we have a plain Account of the number of Bishops at this time within the Patriarchate of *Rome*; and were there no other Reasons, the very number of Bishops is enough to demonstrate, that the Bounds of that Patriarchate, and of the Western Church, were not the same at this time.

Anno

679.

(h) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 685.

(i) *Annal.*
An. 680.

(k) *Antiquit.*
illustrat. pag.
104. Sect. 115.

SECT. IX. But to put this Matter past all doubt, it appears by the Synodical Epistle of *Agatho*, Bishop of *Rome*, to the Emperor, that *Theodore* and the *English* Bishops had no Legate to represent them in the Council held at this time under *Agatho*; for the reason given in that Epistle, by that Prelate, for his delay in executing the Commands of the Emperor, was, that he delayed in hopes of *Theodore's* joining with him (h), which proves, he did not actually join in that Synod. This Particular is transcribed from the forefaid Epistle, both by *Baronius* (i), and *Monsieur Schelstrate* (k), and seems to be the only ground for the different Speculations this Subject

ject has produced, by giving reason to believe, that *Theodore* was personally desired at *Rome*, about this time, by Pope *Agatho*; and so was *Bede* about twenty Years after by Pope *Sergius*; but it was to assist that Prelate in Writing against the then prevailing Heresy; and it is so evident, that this was the reason of *Agatho's* desiring the Presence of *Theodore*, that notwithstanding what *Baronius* has said of his being summoned to *Rome*, he does elsewhere own (a), that he was invited to *Rome*, to assist *Agatho* in writing against the *Monothelite* Heresy: And when the Abilities, the Country, and personal Obligations of *Theodore* to the See of *Rome*, and in particular to *Vitalian*, late Bishop thereof, whose Memory and Honour were more immediately concerned in this Affair, shall be considered, the reason of *Agatho's* desire will be accounted for, without falling into the Mistakes, which a Zeal for the Grandure of the See of *Rome*, seems to have run the fore-^dsaid Learned Writers to.

(a) Baron.
Annal.
Anno 679.

As for the Story of *Wilfrid's* Legantine Power, it is so ill grounded, that *Binius*, who could not but be sensible how ridiculous it would appear, at the very first view, to affirm, that *Wilfrid*, who was an open and avowed Enemy to the *Scots* and *Picts*, and who had never had any Communion with the *Britons*, and was at this time banish'd by the *English*, should yet be said to be the Legate and Representative of them all, in this Council, endeavours to shift off this difficulty, by saying, in his Notes on the Council of *Hatfield*, that *Wilfrid* having been acquitted in the Provincial Synod of *Rome*, was reconciled to *Theodore*; and upon that Reconciliation had a Proxy sent by *Theodore* to appear as Legate of the *English* Church (b).

(b) Concil.
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 579.

SECT. X. *Baronius*, who agrees in this Opinion of *Binius*, that *Wilfrid* appeared as Legate of the *English* Church, saith he was deputed so to do by *Theodore*, at the Council held in *England*, on the occasion of the *Monothelite* Heresy (c): This could be no other Council but that of *Hatfield*; but whereas it appears by *Bede* (d), that the Council of *Hatfield* was held the fifteenth of the Calends of *October*, in the Year 680, according to the Account that Prelate himself gives, the Council under *Agatho* was held in *Rome* the *Easter* preceding, that is, about five Months before the Council of *Hatfield*.

(c) Baron.
Annal. An.
680.
(d) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 17.

But

(a) Chron.
Saxon. Ann.
675.

But if credit could be given in this particular to the *Saxon Chronicle*, the difficulty would be still greater, for there the Council of *Hatfield* is placed in the Year 675, (a) that is five Years before the Council *Binius* and *Baronius* contend for; but the Account of *Baronius* is enough to take away the Commission, the Writers of the same Sentiments have obliged *Wilfrid* withal, and make the Opinion he has asserted impossible, in point of time; besides, it is manifest that the Reasonings of *Binius*, *Baronius*, and *Schelstrate*, do all depend on a supposition, that *Wilfrid* continued at *Rome*, after the Provincial Council held there under *Agatho*; and that he was reconciled to *Theodore* before the Council of *Hatfield*; whereas the Writer of *Wilfrid's* Life, who accompanied him in most of his Travels, and probably was at *Rome* with him, at this time, saith, that immediately after that Provincial Council *Wilfrid* left *Rome*, and returned to *Britain* (b); and that he was not reconciled to *Theodore* till about ten Years after (c).

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
cap. 32.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 68.
(c) Ibid.

And indeed the ninth Canon of the Council of *Hatfield*, by which it is agreed, to increase the number of Bishops, seems to be particularly levelled at *Wilfrid*; and was the chief ground of the long Quarrel betwixt *Theodore* and him.

We may add to this, that *Britain* had been given up by the *Romans*, above two hundred Years before the Council of *Constantinople*, and possessed almost as long by the *English*; that the first thought and original Summons to that Council, were from the Emperor; and his Briefs of Summons were directed to the Patriarchs and Bishops within the Empire, and not to any other Bishop or Church out of the Bounds thereof; that the Synodical Epistle of the Bishop and Council of *Rome*, is no other than a return made in obedience to the Command of the Emperor; and that in the Body of that Epistle, the Bishops, in whose Names it is written, do again and again own the Emperor as their Sovereign, and themselves as his Subjects (d).

(d) Concil.
Torn. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 680.

Was there no other Argument to prove the *English* Bishops not concerned in that Synodical Epistle, and consequently not represented in the Council by which it was wrote, the stile of the 'foresaid Epistle alone makes it as reasonable to presume, as it is to affirm, that *Britain* was

was not at this time subject to the Empire, nor the Bishops thereof the Subjects of the Emperor.

This too was the case of *France* and *Spain*; and if the Subscriptions ascribed to the Bishops thereof were inquired into, it may be they would appear as ill-grounded as that of *Wilfrid*. There is no reason to doubt but those Prelates had, about this time, their Provincial Synods, as well as *England* and *Milan*, and that they condemned the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, tho' their Decrees have not had the good Fortune to be preserved; yet those Nations were neither within the Bounds of the Empire, or the Patriarchate of *Rome*, at the time of this Council.

SECT. XI. But after all the pains of these Learned Men, to prove *Wilfrid* the Legate of the *English* Church, in a Patriarchal Council held at *Rome* under *Agatho*, in the Year 680, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that there never was any one Assembly of that denomination under *Agatho*; but on the contrary, that the Council said to consist of one hundred and twenty five Bishops, and called the Council of the Apostolick Church of the City of *Rome*, was no one Assembly, but that that Denomination was applied to the several Provincial Assemblies of the *Roman* Patriarchate; the Result whereof being transmitted to *Rome*, and by *Agatho*, Bishop thereof, to the Emperor, might possibly from thence acquire the Title of the Council of ancient *Rome*.

And *Labbe*, in his Notes on the Council under Debate, said to be held under *Agatho*, in the Year 680, owns that there are no footsteps or remains of any such Council, but two Epistles to the Emperor, one of *Agatho* and the Clergy of *Rome*, the other a Synodical Epistle in the Name of the Council of the See of *Rome*, (a) whereas in all other Patriarchal Councils, the Time, and Place of the Assembly, and some Acts thereof appear; and the 'foresaid Epistles rather confirm than destroy this Conjecture; for if the Bishops of the whole *Roman* Patriarchate, or their Representatives, had met in one Patriarchal Council, and this Council had consisted of all the Representatives of the Western Churches; nothing could be more absurd, than for *Agatho* to send two distinct Synodical Epistles to the General Council, the one in the Name of the Clergy of the Archbishoprick

Anno
680.

(a) Concil.
Tom. 6. Edit.
Lab. Col. 584.

Province of *Rome*, the other of the *Roman* Patriarchate, if all the Bishops of that Patriarchate had met in one Assembly, and thereby made themselves one Body, and in one common Synodical Epistle had declared their Sense in the Matter in Controversy.

Anno
680.

SECT. XII. But if it be supposed, that the Book wrote against the *Monothelite* Heresy, which under the name of the Epistle of the Council of the Church of *Rome*, is inserted into the Collection of Councils, was drawn up by the appointment of *Agatho*; and after it had been approved by the Council of the Province of *Rome*, was transmitted to the several Archbishops within the Patriarchate of *Rome*, and by them in their several Provincial Synods approved, and sent back to *Agatho*, to be transmitted to the Emperor; and by him transmitted, together with the Names of the several Bishops by whom it was approved, the reason of the forefaid distinct Epistles, and all the difficulties relating to the Patriarchal Council, seem to be accounted for; and the reason of the confusion in our History, in speaking of *Wilfrid*, sometimes as present at *Rome*, in the Provincial Council, consisting of fifty; sometimes, as one of the hundred and twenty five Bishops, of which the Council of the Apostolick Church, of the City of *Rome*, is said to consist, will be no longer a Secret.

However this Matter be, that which seems undeniable is enough to prove, that *Wilfrid* was not the Legate of the *English* Church, as *Baronius* and *Binius* contend; much less did he appear in the Patriarchal Council, by vertue of a Summons from Pope *Agatho*, as Mr. *Schellstrate* would have it believed (a); and however new the forefaid conjecture, relating to the Patriarchal Council, said to consist of one hundred and twenty five Bishops, may appear, I am not singular in it; for *Richery*, in his History of the Councils, (b) appears to be of the same Opinion; and if it be true, that there never was such an Assembly under *Agatho*, a few Arguments are enough to prove, that *Wilfrid* was not present at an Assembly which never had a Being.

(a) E. Schellst.
Attiq. illustr.
pag. 104.
Sect. 115.

(b) Richerii
Histor. Concil.
Tom. I. pag.
558.

Anno
680.

SECT. XIII. On the best Judgment one can make from all the Light we have into this Affair, the Matter of Fact seems to be briefly this: *Wilfrid* being driven from his Bishoprick, went to *Rome* the latter end of the Year

679,

679, and representing to Pope *Agatho*, the Hardships that were put upon him, he was favourably received by that Prelate, and a Provincial Council being summoned by *Agatho* to meet at *Rome*, about the *Monothelite* Heresy, assembled about *Easter* following; in this Assembly appeared in Person, and by Proxy, about fifty Bishops (a): *Agatho* having related his Case to them, *Wilfrid* was admitted into this Assembly; and, besides that of his own Case, probably gave an Account of the Doctrine of the *English*, *British*, and *Scotish* Churches, as to the Matter under dispute; and therefore those who transmitted the Judgment of the Council of the See of *Rome*, against the *Monothelites*, to the Council of *Constantinople*, to add to the Pomp and Reputation of that Judgment, did, after *Wilfrid* had left *Rome*, insert his Name as a Witness to the Doctrine of the *English*, *British*, and *Scotish* Churches in the particular under dispute.

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 65.

Agreeably to this Account, the Writer of his Life, and *Bede*, who word for word transcribes the same Account of this Affair, says, that *Wilfrid* gave an Account of the Faith of the 'foresaid Churches, (b) but makes no mention of his having a Proxy or Deputation from them, a thing so much for the Honour of *Wilfrid*, that it could not possibly be omitted, if there had been any manner of ground for it; nor can it be allowed, without a direct contradiction to what all those Writers have said of the reason of his going to *Rome*, and of his conduct there.

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 51.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 81.
Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 20.

SECT. XIV. And it may be, if it was well inquired into, there would appear as little, if not less ground, for the Subscriptions of the *French* and *Spanish* Bishops to the Council of *Agatho*, than for that of *Wilfrid*. Thus much is certain, that whatever Arguments for the extent of the Patriarchate of *Rome*, the Writers of that Communion may draw from the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, to prove *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain* within the Bounds thereof, that History affords a proof beyond dispute, that a great part of *Italy* it self was not so happy at this time.

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For whereas the Emperor had commanded *Donus*, Predecessor to *Agatho*, to transmit to the Council of *Constantinople*, the sense of the several Provinces within his Patriarchate; and in obedience thereunto, Pope *Agatho* re-

re-

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 601.

returned the Judgment of the Clergy of his Patriarchate, consisting of one hundred and twenty five Bishops. It is very evident, from the Epistle of *Mansuetus*, Archbishop of *Milan*, inserted in the History of that Council, (a) that that Prelate did, upon the occasion of the Council, appointed by the Emperor to be held at *Constantinople*, summon a Provincial Synod, which met in the City of *Milan*; and having in that Synod, drawn up a Confession of Faith, intituled, An Exposition of the Faith by the Bishops of the Synod of *Milan*, without the conjunction of the Council of the *Roman* Patriarchate, or the Mediation of *Agatho*, Patriarch thereof, *Mansuetus* did, by a Synodical Epistle, directed immediately to the Emperor himself, transmit to the Council of *Constantinople*, the Judgment and Doctrine of his own Province.

And though *Platina*, in the Life of *Donus*, does pretend, that the Church of *Ravenna*, which had, for a considerable time, stood so separate from that of *Rome*, that it had obtained the Title of *Autocephalos*, or Independent, was reduced to a submission to the Church of *Rome*, by Pope *Donus*; and that *Theodore*, at this time Archbishop of *Ravenna*, made this Submission; yet for all this, if the Case of *Ravenna* was not altogether the same with that of *Milan*, there is little foundation for the pretence of *Platina*; for it appears by several Sessions of that Council, that *Theodore*, at this time Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and his Clergy, are not comprehended in the number of the hundred twenty and five Bishops, of which the Council of the *Roman* Patriarchate did consist, but were represented by *Theodore* a Presbyter, and a Monk who was the Legate of that Archbishop.

In short, It is so manifest, that *Milan* was not at this time within the Patriarchate of *Rome*, nor subject to the Bishops thereof, that it appears by *Baronius*, that when Pope *Nicholas*, about three hundred Years after, sent *Petrus Damianus*, Bishop of *Ostium*, as his Legate, to compose a Difference which had happened in that Archbishoprick; the Clergy denied his Authority, and affirmed that the *Ambrosian* Church ought not to be subject to the *Roman* Laws; and that the Bishops of *Rome* had no Authority to judge, or order any thing in the See of *Milan*. (b)

(b) *Baron.*
Annal.
Anno 1059.

But

But to go no further, the account of this Affair, as it appears in the History, and Sessions of this Council, is enough to shew, that the *Roman* Patriarchate was so far from extending over the Western Churches at this time, that on the contrary it shews plainly, that the Provinces of *Milan* and *Ravenna*, to say nothing of *Aquileia*, all lying within the Bounds of *Italy*, were not at this time within the Bounds of that Patriarchate. These Reflections on the Sentiments of *Monsieur Schelstrate*, and on the Conjectures of *Binius*, *Baronius*, and *Monsieur Labbe*, are also Answers enough to what the Learned *de Marca* saith of Appeals; for the reason on which he advances that Doctrine must immediately vanish, when once it appears, that *Britain* was not within the Bounds of the *Roman* Patriarchate; but how little ground those Great Men had to found the Right of Appeals, or the extent of the Patriarchal Power, or indeed to challenge any advantage to the See of *Rome* from the Example of *Wilfrid*, the prosecution of his Story, to which I am now to return, will make very plain.

SECT. XV. *Wilfrid* coming to *Rome*, about the time that *Agatho* had convened his Provincial Synod, to make choice of Proctors, and prepare Instructions for the General Council appointed to meet at *Constantinople*, *Wilfrid*, by a Petition, (a) sets forth his Case, representing the Hardships he underwent, not only in being driven from his See, but in having his Diocess divided, and three new Bishopricks erected therein (b), as he pretended, not only without his Consent, but without a Fault any way meriting such Treatment, *Agatho* introduced *Wilfrid* into his Provincial Council, consisting of fifty Bishops, or their Proxies (c).

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(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 29.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

And there being no body to oppose, or contradict him, *Wilfrid* told his Story so well, that *Agatho* and his Synod were of Opinion, that he ought to be restored to his Bishoprick again (d); and that if the Interests of Religion required the division of his Diocess, yet that such Bishops should be placed therein, as might have the approbation and good-liking of *Wilfrid* (e). And to give the greater force to this their Judgment, they pretended to decree, that if any Bishop or Presbyter refused Obedience thereto, he should be deposed; and if any of the Laity, that they should be shut out from the Holy Sacrament (f).

(d) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 31.

(e) Ibid.

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This (f) Ibid.

This Affair being thus dispatched in the Synod of fifty Bishops, without any notice of the General Council subject to the Apostolick See, or directions to wait the meeting thereof, *Wilfrid* was, by *Agatho* and his Synod, required to make what haste he could to return to *Britain* (a), and to shew their Resolutions to *Ecgfride*, King of the *Northern English*, and *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* (b), and accordingly he obeyed (c).

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
cap. 32.
(b) Ibid.
(c) Ibid.

But though *Theodore* had had his Education in *Rome*, and owed his Advancement entirely to the favour of that See; and though the late Revolution in the *English* Church had prepared the Kings and People for the most favourable Sentiments of the Wisdom and Power of the Bishops of *Rome*; yet it seems that *Theodore* was so little sensible of any Authority the Bishops of *Rome* had to intermeddle in the Affairs of the *English* Church, that he took no notice of the Sentence passed in favour of *Wilfrid*.

As for *Ecgfride*, the King of *Northumberland*, he was so little acquainted with Proceedings of this kind, and so far from acquiescing in the Decree of the *Roman* Synod, that he looked upon it as a Cheat and Imposture, (d) and was so fully perswaded thereof, that he resented the obstinacy of *Wilfrid*, in refusing to declare it so (e).

(d) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
cap. 35.
(e) Ibid.

However, to act in this Affair with the precaution that became his Character, he called his Nobility and Clergy to advise upon the Matter (f), and after mature deliberation, instead of yielding Obedience to the Judgment of *Agatho*, and his Council, and restoring *Wilfrid* to his Bishoprick, that Prince, by the Advice and Consent of his Bishops and Nobility, sent *Wilfrid* to Prison, and put him under such strict Confinement, that he suffered no body to come near him; and in this miserable condition he languished nine Months (g), where we must leave him, and look back to the state of the *English* Church under *Theodore*.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Ab Anno 680 ad Annum 691.

SECT. I. **A**ccount of the rise and progress of the Monothelite Heresy. Honorius, Bishop of Rome, guilty thereof. It occasions the convening the Council at Hatfield.

II. The state of Learning, and of the English Bishopricks at the time of this Council: Wise Conduct thereof.

III. Proceedings of the Council of Hatfield. English Church settled on the Doctrine of Christ, explained by the first General Councils.

IV. This Council imitates a Provincial Council at Milan, and the Ancients. John, Præcentor of St. Peter's at Rome, present thereat. The Mistakes that Baronius runs into upon that Account. The true occasion of his coming into England.

V. Theodore sends a Copy of this Council to Rome. The Monkish Account of this Council.

VI. The Bishopricks of Worcester, Leicester, Hereford, founded. Sydnacester restored.

VII. Leicester said to be mistaken for Chester: Reason of that Charge considered.

VIII. Wilfrid flies to the South-Saxons, where he is instrumental in the Conversion of the People of Suffex and Surrey.

IX. Occasions and Circumstances of their Conversion. Bishoprick of Seolsey erected. Wilfrid first Bishop thereof.

X. Christian Religion generally received in England. Wilfrid reconciled to Theodore: restored to York: Changes thence ensued.

XI. Wilfrid's unquiet Spirit occasions a new Banishment, flies to the King of Mercia, is made Bishop of Leicester. Death of Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury.

SECT.

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SECT. I. **T**Hough the difficulties with which Men penetrate common things, should, one would think, lead them to the most profound Modesty, in their Judgments and Discourses of things in their own Natures incomprehensible; yet such is our unhappy Temper, that whilst Ignorance leads us into Errors, the Vanity of Men is such, that it is with the greatest difficulty they part with them; and very often we choose rather to part with God's way of speaking than with our own: And as this unhappiness in the nature of Men has given beginning to many Heresies, so it has made them very troublesome and uneasy to the World.

That which at this time divided the Eastern and Western Churches was the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, which seems rather a Branch of the *Eutychian* Heresy, or that Heresy in another dress, than a new and distinct Opinion. *Eutyches*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Constantinople*, about the middle of the Fifth Century, had broached an Opinion which destroyed the distinct Properties of the Divine and Humane Nature of Christ, and with obstinacy persisted therein; but that Heresy falling under the censure of the Council of *Chalcedon*, during the Life of *Eutiches*, made no great progress in the World.

But out of the Ashes of that Heresy arose that of the *Monothelites*, about the middle of the Seventh Century, which by asserting one Will and Operation in Christ, did, at least in the consequence of it, destroy the distinction of Natures; for which reason, as I think, *Bede* in his Preamble to the Council of *Hatfield*, speaks of the Heresy best known by that of the *Monothelites*, under the name of the *Eutichian* Heresy; but to let pass the original of this Error, about the middle of this Century, the Heresy of the *Monothelites* begun to spread it self in the Church, and prevailed so far, that *Sergius*, *Pyrrhus*, and *Paul*, successively Bishops of *Constantinople*, and *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome*, and many of the leading Men of the Eastern Church, fell into this Error; and *Theodore*, at this time Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and *Mucarias*, Patriarch of *Antioch*; together with many of their Clergy, were great Favourers of it (a): And this interrupted the ancient Method to preserve the Unity of the Church, by

(a) Concil.
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 594.

(a) by Epistles, containing a Confession of Faith, sent from new advanced Bishops, to the Patriarchs, and other eminent Bishops of the Church; as well from the Bishops of *Rome*, to those of *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem*, as on the contrary: And these Letters being thus reciprocal, a common Friendship and Communion were preserved; but for the Reasons above, this course ceasing, about this time, not only put a stop to the Intercourse betwixt the Eastern and Western Churches (b), but it made so wide a Breach betwixt them, that some Eastern Bishops petitioned the Emperor *Constantine Pogonatus*, that the Names of the Bishops of *Rome* might be left out of the *Dypticks* of the Church (c), and particularly the Name of *Vitalian*, by whom *Theodore* was sent into *Britain*.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

As this occasioned the calling of the Sixth General Council, to meet this Year at *Constantinople*; and in order thereunto several Provincial Councils; so *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, could not but think himself obliged to take notice of a Heresy which made so much noise in the World at this time; and therefore having intimated this to *Ecgfride* King of the *Northumbrians*, to *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, *Adulph* King of the *East-Angles*, and *Lotharius* King of *Kent*, a Council was called, which met at *Hatfield* the fifteenth of the Calends of *October*, or the fifteenth of *September* 680.

SECT. II. Learning was at this time in so few hands, and at so low an ebb, through the Western Churches, that what *Baronius* saith of *Agatho's* sending for Archbishop *Theodore* to *Rome*, to assist him in writing against the Heresy of the *Monothelites* (d), has much more appearance of Truth than what he elsewhere saith of his being summoned thither, as a subject to the Council of *Rome*; and his Conduct in this Council seems to answer the receiv'd Opinion of his Abilities; for notwithstanding what *Diceto* saith, of an hundred Bishops assembled in the Council of *Hatfield*, one has much ado to find out the tenth part of that number.

Anno
680.(d) Baroni.
Annal.
Anno 679.

For the whole Kingdom of *Mercia*, containing all the Midland Counties of *England*, had at this time but two Bishops, and these were *Sexulphus* Bishop of *Lichfield*, and *Ethelwin* Bishop of *Sydnacester*; or at the most but five, if the division of that Kingdom was made the Year

(a) *Annal.*
Wigorn.
Ang. Sac.
Par. I.
pag. 469.

preceding ; but it seems probable, that that Division was owing to the resolution taken in the Council of *Hatfield*, to increase the number of Bishopricks ; and if the design was formed the preceding Year, yet it appears that *Bosel*, who was the first actual Bishop of *Worcester*, was not consecrated till this Year (a). *Erkenwal*, Bishop of *London*, was the only Bishop of the *East-Saxons*, and *Hedda* of the *West*. *Bosa* was Bishop of *York*, *Eata* of *Lindisfarne* and *Hagulstad*, *Ecce* Bishop of the *East-Angles*, *Quichelm* was about this time Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and it is probable, that his Predecessor *Putta*, some time before driven from that See, was yet living.

As for *Wilfrid*, it is very probable, that notwithstanding what is said to the contrary by *Baronius*, he was a Prisoner in *England* at the time of this Council ; and it is very evident, that the *South-Saxons* were yet unconverted ; so that upon the whole Matter it appears, that the *English* Bishops who assembled in this Council, including *Theodore* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, could not exceed the number of nine or ten at the most ; and for the *British* or *Scotch* Bishops, there is no reason to believe that they were present, or so much as summoned to it ; but on the contrary, that it was made up of the Clergy of the Dominions of those Princes, whose Names are inserted in the Preamble thereof ; and if the Name of the King of the *East-Saxons* be omitted, it is probable it was because he was at this time a Tributary to the King of the *Northumbrians*.

Bede, by his way of speaking of this Assembly, gives some reason to think, that the Bishops were assisted therein by some of the Lower Clergy, but does not give us light enough to determine who they were, or what Interest they had in this Affair. But whatever the Men were by whom this Council was conducted, the result thereof carries great appearance of Wisdom and Judgment.

It is not unlikely, that the first thought of it was owing to the Controversy of the Age : But this Assembly carried it a great deal further, and took this opportunity not only to condemn the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, but to establish a lasting Standard, both for the Doctrine and Discipline of the *English* Church.

SECT.

SECT. III. The Council being assembled, after Sermon *Theodore* gave a short Account of the Christian Faith, as it was delivered by Christ to his Apostles, summed up in the Apostolick Creed, and explained and confirmed by the Fathers and General Councils. The Bishops having personally declared their Consent and Agreement to these Doctrines, proceeded to make a particular Confession of their Faith, with relation to the Doctrines which had been opposed by the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*; and having declared, they unanimously agreed in the received and Catholick Doctrine of the Trinity, they took particular care to declare their Agreement with the whole Catholick Church, in receiving the Doctrine and Discipline of the five first General Councils (a).

Anno
680.

That of *Nice*, against the *Arrians*; the first of *Constantinople* against *Macedonius* and *Eudoxius*; the Council of *Ephesus* against the *Nestorians*; that of *Chalcedon* against *Eutyches* and *Nestorius*; the second of *Constantinople* against *Theodore*, and *Theodore*, and the Epistles of *Ibas*; receiving what those Councils received, and rejecting what they rejected (b); and lest these Decrees should be thought too general, or subject to evasion, to these they added, the reception of a Council held in *Rome*, under Pope *Martin*, in the Year 649, called on purpose to give a stop to the Heresy of the *Monothelites* (c).

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 17.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

Here we have the *English* Church, hitherto unsettled, brought to an establishment on the common foundation of the universal Church, the Doctrine of Christ explained by the five first General Councils.

SECT. IV. This was the Method used by *Mansuetus*, Archbishop of *Milan* (d), the Year preceding; and upon the occasion of the same Heresy, by *Martin*, Bishop of *Rome*; and indeed the common Method of all the preceding Councils, to maintain the Unity of the Church, by declaring their Consent and Agreement in the Doctrine of the first Ages.

Anno
680.

(d) Concil.
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col.

Amongst those who were present at, and approved this Council, was *John* (e), Precentor of *St. Peter's*, and Abbot of *St. Martin's* in *Rome*. From hence the Learned *Baronius* (f) concludes, that this *John* was sent by Pope *Agatho*, to summon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his Synod at *Rome*; and that great Prelate seems to please him-

(e) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 18.

(f) Baron.
Annal An.
680.

himself with this conclusion. Yet, after all, it appears, that the Precentor did not come over by the appointment of the Bishop of *Rome*, but on the instance and solicitation of *Biscop*, termed *Benedictus*, the Founder of the Abby on the North side of the River *Wire*. In the Bishoprick of *Durham* (a).

(a) Bedæ
Vir. Abbat.
Wiremouth.
Lib. i. p. 225.

Now the Site of this Abby was first granted to *Benedictus*, by *Ecgfride* King of the *Northern English*, in the Year of our Lord 674, the second of the Indiction, and fourth of King *Ecgfride* (b), and in the compass of two Years after was finished: Presently after *Benedictus* went to *Rome*, where upon his earnest solicitation of *Agatho*, he obtained his leave to carry over with him the Precentor of *St. Peter's*, to instruct his Monks in the Art of Singing (c); and particularly to acquaint them with the way of performing the Festival Services throughout the Year, according to the manner of *St. Peter's* in *Rome* (d).

(b) Ejsdem,
pag. 224.

(c) Ejsdem
pag. 225.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 18.

(f) Ibid.

The Precentor being thus prevail'd upon to make a Journey to *Britain*, Pope *Agatho* obliged him to inquire into the state of the new *English Church*; and at his return to give him an account thereof (e); and that he might judge the better whether the *English Church*, settled by *Theodore* a *Greek*, was free from the Heresy, which for above forty Years past had prevail'd amongst the *Greeks*, he gave him a Copy of the Patriarchal Council held at *Rome* under Pope *Martin* (f), which, at his arrival in *Britain*, *Benedict* caused to be transcribed and lodged in his Monastery.

(g) Ibid.

The Precentor being come into *Britain*, spent a great deal of time in the Monastery of *Wiremouth*, both in teaching Musick, pricking out of Services, and directing the Quire how to perform them (g): And such was the reputation of his Skill, that the Masters of Musick from all the other Monasteries of the *North* came to hear him; and not only so, but prevailed upon him to set up Schools, for teaching, in other places of that Kingdom (h).

(h) Ibid.

And when one considers what time undertakings of this kind necessarily require, and that *Bede*, both in his Ecclesiastick History, and in the History of the Lives of the Abbots of *Wiremouth*; in both which the coming of *John* is related, makes no mention of the Errand *Baro-*

nus has thought fit to charge him with, one sees great reason to think that there is not the least ground for the assertion of that great Prelate; but, on the contrary, that the Precentor came over before the Emperor had sent his Command to Pope *Agatho's* Predecessor, to summon the Bishops of his Patriarchate to the General Council.

SECT. V. *Theodore* having brought the Council of *Hatfield* to such issue as he hoped for, the Decrees were drawn into Writing, and signed by the Hands of the Bishops: A Copy thereof was given to *John*, Abbot of *St. Martin's* in *Rome*, and Precentor of *St. Peter's*, to carry with him to *Rome* (a). But we have a very different Account of this Council, from the pretended Charter of Pope *Agatho*; for the Monkish Writers, who never forget themselves, or the Interest of their own Orders, and have no Interests so near their Hearts, as those of their own Institutions, are contented to leave the Integrity of *Baronius*, and even the Grandeur of *Rome*, to shift for it self, rather than lessen the Privileges of their own Orders; and therefore give an Account of this Council very different from all other Writers upon this Subject; for they assure us, that in the Year 675 *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, sent *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *Tork*, to *Rome*, to obtain a confirmation of the Privileges that Prince and his Brother *Wulfere*, late King of the *Mercians*, had granted to the Monastery of *Medeshamsted*, now *Peterborough* (b), which being confirmed by *Agatho*, then Pope, that Prelate did, in the same Bull, require, that a Council should be called of the *English* Bishops; and that in obedience to this Bull, this Council of *Hatfield* was convened by *Theodore*.

And that their Story might be all of a piece, they further tell us, that the design of that Council was no other, than to have a publick recognition of the Privileges granted to this Foundation; and the Instrument to which we are indebted for this Account, is published in the Collections of *Spelman* (c), and *Labbe* (d), and has a place in the Noble Monument of the *Saxon* Antiquities, the *Saxon* Chronicle; yet, after all, the Marks of imposture lie so open, that *Monsieur du Pin* (e) makes no difficulty to affirm this Charter of much later date, than this present Age, and made by some Monk of that House some Ages after: And there is great reason to

Annō
680.

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 18.*

(b) *Chron. Saxon. An. 675.*

(c) *Concil. Brit. Vol. 1.*

(d) *Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col. 576.*

(e) *Eccles. Hist. Cent. 7. pag. 37.*

think, that if the Charter to the same Religious House, said to be granted by *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, and to be confirmed by *Vitalian*, Bishop of *Rome*, was looked into, it might possibly deserve no better a Censure, notwithstanding the Honour it has had in being transmitted to Posterity.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. pag. 36.

For whereas that Charter bears date, in the Year 664, and pretends to exempt that Monastery from the ordinary Jurisdiction, and subject it only to the Bishop of *Rome* (a), it is very evident that *Jarumman*, at this time Bishop of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, was himself a *Scotchman*, and had received his Consecration, and his whole Diocess its Christianity from the Bishops and Clergy under the *Scotish* Establishment; and that those of that Communion, held no Communion, at this time, with the Bishops of *Rome*, or with the *English* Churches of the *Romish* Establishment.

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 28.

(c) Wharton
de Episc.
Lond. p. 15.

And it seems very unlikely, that *Wulfere* should subject a Monastery to a Church with which he himself held no Communion, and to a Power not yet received into his Dominions; besides, amongst the Subscribers to this Charter, are *Deus dedit* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wini* Bishop of *London*; whereas *Bede* saith, that *Wini* was not Bishop of *Winchester* till after the Death of *Deus dedit* (b); and the Writer of his Life saith, that *Wini* was made Bishop of *London* in the Year 666 (c), which was two Years after the date of this Charter.

And such are the common Misfortunes of the Monkish Charters, that one who looks well into them, will see reason to esteem them much better fitted to reproach the Integrity, and expose the Ignorance of the Religious, than to serve the purposes they were intended for. But to return.

Anno
680.

SECT. VI. Through the whole transactions of this Council, we hear nothing of *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*; nor of the Sentence passed in his favour at *Rome*; but, on the contrary, if his case was ever under consideration, it was rather to confirm, than mitigate the Sentence, the King of the *Northumbrians* had passed upon him; for it seems probable, that a new subdivision of his Diocess was agreed upon at this Council; at least, it appears that either this Year, or the Year following, the Northern part of his Diocess, the See whereof was in the

the Island of *Lindisfarne*, was divided into two, and a new Bishoprick erected, at a place now called *Hexham* in *Northumberland*, by the name of the Bishoprick of *Hagulstad*; and as if they intended to give an edge to the Mortification of *Wilfrid*, the Abby which he had built at *Hagulstad*, was made the Seat of the new Bishop; besides which, *Ecgfride*, about this time, erected another Bishoprick; the Diocess containing that part of *Britain* which he had gained from the *Picts*; so that whatever *Wilfrid* lost, the Church gained, there being no less, at this time, than four Bishopricks in the compass of the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, which had been but one Diocess under *Wilfrid*; for *Bosa* was Bishop of *York*, *Eata* of *Lindisfarne*, *Trumbert* of *Hagulstad*, and *Trumwin* of the more Northerly Parts, late subject to the *Picts* (a).

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 12.*

And about the time of this Council of *Hatfield*, or the Year preceding, upon the accession of *Ethelred* to the Crown of that Kingdom, *Mercia*, hitherto but one Bishoprick, is said to be divided into five; and to that of *Lichfield* were added *Worcester*, *Hereford*, *Leicester*, and *Sydnamester* (b).

(b) *Angliae Sac. Part I. pag. 427.*

SECT. VII. But not only that Author in particular, whose Authority is vouched for what is said of the Bishoprick of *Leicester*, is charged with a Mistake therein (c), but the same Learned and Worthy Author, who charges him therewith, is pleased to say, that it is a great Mistake in our Historians, in saying, that a Bishop's See was founded at *Leicester*, whereas, saith he, in truth it was at *Westchester*, and not at *Leicester*, that the new Diocess was erected (d): But that Learned Writer has observed, and that very truly, that this great Mistake, as he styles it, has been unanimously swallowed by all our Church Historians (e). This Charge is chiefly founded on the ancient Names of the places under debate.

(c) *English Hist. Library, Part II. p. 39.*

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

For that, as that Learned Writer truly observes, the stile of *Totta* was *Episcopus Legecestriae*, and that *Legercestria* is the old Name of *Leicester*, as *Legecestria* is of *Chester* (f); but I must crave leave to add, that *Legoraceaster*, and *Leogereceaster*, and *Leogecester*, are also ancient Saxon Names of *Leicester* (g); that Mr. *Wharton* observes, from the Registers of *Canterbury*, that *Rethunus*, Bishop of the Diocess, whose See is under debate,

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *Gibson Locorum. Explicat. p. 34.*

in

(a) Collect.
Mss. Fol. notat.
L. pag. 6.

Uterque se ad Legoracensis
civitatis sedem electum dicit.
(b) Ibid.

(c) Cotton.
Cleopatra. E.1.

Remigius Dorcensis, &
Legoracensis, & Lincolnæ
Provincia, caterarumque Pro-
vinciarum quibus antecessores
mei præfuerunt Antistes.

in his Profession made to *Wilfrid*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, styles himself *Legoracensis Episcopus* (a); the like he observes of *Ceolred*, Bishop of the same See; and from these Authorities, faith of those two Bishops, that they affirm themselves chosen Bishops of the City of *Leicester* (b): And the Form of their Professions, yet extant in the *Cotton Library*, (c) agrees with his Account: And after the *Norman Conquest*, the stile of *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*, in his new Profession made to *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after the Deposition of *Stigand*, was, *Remigius*, Bishop of *Dorchester*, *Leicester*, and *Lincoln*; and yet *Peter* was at this time Bishop of *Chester*.

And indeed, the very reason upon which that Prelate removed the See of *Lichfield* to the City of *Chester*, in pursuance of the Decree of the Council held in *London*, in the Year 1070 was, because *Chester* was then the greatest City within the Diocess of *Lichfield*.

(d) Polychr.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 241.

Besides, it is agreed upon all hands, that the See under debate was within the Kingdom of *Mercia*. But *Higden*, who was a Monk of *Chester*, and who fixes the subdivision of *Mercia* into Bishopricks, in the Year 679 (d), faith, that *Chester*, or *Legecester*, was possessed by the *Britons* till the Year 797, when it was won from them by *Ecgbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, and united to his Kingdom. And this was above an hundred Years after the founding the Bishoprick under debate.

If there be truth in this Account of *Higden*, probably the Name of *Legecester* was not given to *Chester*, till after the founding of the Bishoprick; for it is certain, that *Caerlegion* was the *British* Name, and it is likely it did not change its Name, till it changed Masters, and came to the hands of the *English*; nor is *Higden* singular in his Opinion; but as in the first of these Particulars he follows *H. Huntington*, so in the later he follows *Malmsbury*, who speaks still more fully to the Matter under debate, and faith, that the See of the Bishoprick under debate, was founded at the City of *Legecester*, on the River of *Leire*; and notwithstanding what that Reverend and Learned Writer is pleased to say of *Legecestria*'s being the ancient Name of *Chester*, and *Legercestria* of *Leicester*, it is very evident, that the same place

place which *Bede* (a) calls *Legacestir*, and *Caerlegion*, and now *Chester* is by the *Saxon Chronicle* called *Le-gerciestre* (b), for so that Writer calls the place where both himself, and *Bede*, and our Historians generally agree, so great a slaughter was made of the *British* Clergy.

This confusion of Names shews how little stress is to be laid upon Arguments of this kind, and more especially when the Criticism lies cross to a Matter of Fact, that is notorious and generally agreed upon: And this seems to be the case of the Matter in debate; for it is agreed on all hands, that the Bishoprick, whose Seat we are now inquiring after, was united to that of *Sydnacester*, and both of them to *Dorchester*; and that from the time of that Union, to the present Age, *Leicester* ever has been within the Bishoprick, the Seat whereof was then at *Dorchester*, and now at *Lincoln*; but, on the contray, the City and County of *Chester*, neither are, nor ever were within the Diocess of the Bishops of *Dorchester* or *Lincoln*, but within the Diocess of *Lichfield*, till the new Bishoprick of *Chester* was erected under the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth.

Upon the whole Matter, it appears so much easier to imagine, that Writers may be mistaken in propriety of Names, or the Orthography and true Writing thereof, than in such a publick and notorious Matter of Fact, as the Union of the 'foresaid Bishopricks, that it seems reasonable to leave the credit of our Historians unquestioned, in what they say of an Episcopal See founded at *Leicester*, and that ancient City quiet and undisturb'd in the Honour they have ascribed to it.

SECT. VIII. But whatever ground there may be to doubt what our Historians say, of a Bishoprick erected at *Leicester*, there is no ground to doubt of that erected at *Seolsey*, (and since removed to *Chichester*,) about this time, or the Year following (c); and *Wilfrid* has the Honour to have the first place in the Successions of the Bishops thereof; and which is a great deal more, he had the comfort and satisfaction of being a great Instrument of God's Glory in the conversion of the People amongst whom it was founded; the manner and circumstances whereof will deserve to be considered.

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 2. cap. 2.*

(b) *Chron. Saxon. An. 607. pag. 25.*

(c) *Eddii Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 22. XV. Scriptor. pag. 62.*

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 40.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 72.

(b) Ibid.

After *Wilfrid* had undergone the Hardships of a long Imprisonment, he was at last set at liberty by King *Ecgride* (a), some time the preceding Year: After his Release he went into the Kingdom of *Mercia*, where he was entertained, for some time, by *Berthwald*, Nephew to the King thereof; but he remained quiet there but a little while; for the fear of displeasing *Ecgride* obliged that Prince to command *Wilfrid* to leave his Country; from whence he went to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, but the same reason which forced him thither, made his stay there unsafe, and drove him to a Resolution that seems to have had the last place in his Thoughts and Wishes; in short, the Anger of King *Ecgride* so pursued that Prelate, that he was not suffered to be at quiet any where else, but was forced to take Sanctuary in a Pagan Kingdom, that of the *South-Saxons* comprehending the Counties of *Suffex*, and *Surry* (b); this People had hitherto remained in the saddest and most deplorable state of Ignorance and Idolatry; and though above fourscore Years had passed since the coming of *Austin*, yet it does not appear, that any attempt had ever been made towards their Conversion, till about this time.

And now it seems intirely owing to the special Providence of God, rather than to the Piety and Zeal of Men; for though *Wilfrid* had a share in it, yet the circumstances of the Story, whilst they leave him the satisfaction, rob him of the Glory of their Conversion; and seem to make his Case so far like that of the Prophet *Jonah*, who preached Repentance to the *Ninevites* against his Will.

But God, who never wants Instruments to do his own Work, nor ways to indear the Sufferings he thinks fit to lay upon Men, served himself on the Circumstances that drew so much trouble on *Wilfrid*, and over-paid his Sufferings, by making use of them to serve the purposes of his own Glory; for upon *Wilfrid's* first Banishment by *Ecgride*, as he was attempting to Sail to *France*, in order to go to *Rome*, the Ship was forced by contrary Winds upon the Coast of *Friesland*, where Landing, by the favour of *Aldgistus*, King of the *Frisians*, he so successfully preached the Gospel, that during the Winter which he staid there, he converted a great part of that Kingdom to the Christian Faith (c).

(c) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
lib. 4. cap. 13.

SECT.

SECT. IX. Thus too did God make use of his Banishment in the Conversion of the *South-Saxons* about this time, but with this difference, that there was more of God, and less of *Wilfrid* in their Conversion; for whereas the *Frisians* seem to have had no knowledge of the Christian Faith, before the coming of *Wilfrid*: The case of the *South-Saxons* was far otherwise; for it appears, that some *Scotch* Christians from *Ireland*, who, according to the prevailing Humour of this Age, had left their Country to find a retiring place, had settled themselves in this Country, and had a small Monastery therein (a); besides *Ethelmalch*, who was at that time King of that People, though he had been bred a Pagan, yet had married *Ebba*, a Christian Princess (b), and during the Reign of *Wulfere*, King of the *Mercians*, had himself embraced the Christian Religion, and been baptized (c).

Annals

682.

683.

688.

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 4. cap. 13.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

Thus was the way prepared for the Conversion of *Suffex* and *Surrey*, when *Wilfrid* came to the Court of *Ethelmalch*, that Prince not only received him with open Arms, but gave him all possible encouragement in discharging the Offices of his Holy Function; and if there was any defect in the Zeal of that Prince, it lay in the want of a due Temperament, it being too fierce to consist with the gentleness of the Gospel Spirit; for he not only encouraged, but compelled some of his People to receive the Christian Faith (d).

(d) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 40.
XV Scriptor.
pag. 72.

But from whencesoever the reason proceeded, *Wilfrid* had the honour to baptize great numbers of that People, and to settle a Christian Church amongst them, and by the Blessings of God upon his Labours, was made a great Instrument of God's Glory; and, by the Interest he had in the King, he obtained Ground for the building and endowment of a Cathedral (e); and at his Instance, the King founded a Bishoprick, and planted the See thereof in his own Capital City at *Seolsey*; and *Wilfrid* has the first place in the Successions of the Bishops of *Chichester*, to which place this Bishoprick was remov'd, after *Seolsey*, a Village in the County of *Suffex*, had had the honour of it for about four hundred Years, but with some intermission; for some Years after the recalling of *Wilfrid*, this People had not a Bishop of their own, but were under the care of the Bishops of the *West-Saxons* (f).

(e) Ibid.

(f) Bedæ,
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 4. c. 15.

And

Annis And it is not unlikely, that the Vanity and Ambition
 684. of *Wilfrid* led the way to the Mischiefs which, for want
 685. of a Bishop to reside amongst the new Converts, must
 686. necessarily fall upon the Church he had the honour to
 plant ; for during his stay in this Country, *Cedwal*, a
 Prince of the *West-Saxons*, being driven from his Coun-
 try, retired to the *South-Saxons*, this Kingdom being
 Mountainous, and, by reason of the vast Woods, in
 great measure impassible, yet lying contiguous to his
 own Country, was the fittest Sanctuary for that Prince.
 During his stay here he fell into great Friendship with
Wilfrid ; and therefore being afterwards restored to his
 Country, and advanced to the Throne of the *West-Sax-*
ons, he invited *Wilfrid* to his Kingdom : *Wilfrid* ac-
 cepted the Invitation, and going to the Court of King
Cedwal, had all the Marks of Confidence and Honour
 that Prince could confer upon him ; and, as Minister of
 State (a), managed for some time the Affairs of that
 Kingdom, whilst he retained his relation to the Church
 he had founded ; and it is not unlikely that this Exam-
 ple led the way to some of the succeeding Bishops of
 the *West-Saxons*, in extending their care to the *South-*
Saxons.

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
 cap. 41.
XV. Scriptor.
 pag. 73.

Anno S E C T. X. The Christian Religion being now ge-
 687. nerally planted amongst the *English*, and Churches esta-
 blished, every thing remained quiet, whilst *Wilfrid* em-
 ployed his time betwixt the *South* and *West-Saxons* ; and
 thus things continued for about five or six Years ; but
 about this time *Ecgfride*, King of the *Northumbrians*,
 was killed in a Battel he fought against the *Picts*, and
Alfred, his Brother, succeeded him in that Kingdom.
Wilfrid, who had the taste of his ancient Splendor yet
 fresh upon his Palate, finding by the experience of six
 or seven Years, how little the Authority of the Bishops
 of *Rome* was regarded in *England*, resolves to betake
 himself to new Measures.

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfridi.
 cap. 42.
XV. Scriptor.
 pag. 73.
 (c) *Ibid.*

And the accession of *Alfred* to the Crown, gave new
 Life and Spirit to the hopes of *Wilfrid* ; and the Services
 he had done to God and his Church, in the settlement
 of the Christian Religion amongst the *South-Saxons*,
 gained him so much esteem in the Opinion of Archbishop
Theodore (b), that about this time they were reconciled, and
Wilfrid was received into the Friendship of that Prelate (c).
 Upon

Upon this Reconciliation, *Theodore* wrote a Letter to *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, in his Favour ; and in another to *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbrians*, he so effectually recommended him to that Prince, that the second Year of his Reign, *Wilfrid* was recalled by King *Alfred*, and restored by him to his Bishoprick, and *Cuthbert*, the Favourite Prelate of that Age, dying about this time, the Interest of *Wilfrid* bore down all the opposition of *Bosa* Bishop of *York*, and *John* Bishop of *Hagulstad*, and they were both driven from their Bishopricks ; and the whole Kingdom of the *Northern English* did once again become the Diocess of *Wilfrid* ; in which station he continued for about five Years.

SECT. XI. But such was the Spirit of this Prelate, *Anno* that he could not submit to the Canons which had been 691. made under *Theodore*, during the late Controversie (d), ^{(a) Eddii} nor forbear to shew his resentment of the Wrong he ^{vit. Wilfrid.} had sustained by having the Abby of *Hagulstad*, which ^{cap. 44.} he had built, wrested from him, and converted into an ^{XV. Scriptor.} Episcopal See (e) ; and being sowered with his former ^{pag. 75.} sufferings he soon became very uneasy, and this occasioned a Misunderstanding betwixt King *Alfred* and this Prelate (f), which in a little time grew to an open Breach, ^{(e) Ibid.} and so provoked the King, that he forced *Wilfrid* to quit his Bishoprick, and fly for his Security to the Kingdom of *Mercia* ; and restored *Bosa* to the Bishoprick of *York*, and *John* to that of *Hagulstad* (g), about the ^{(f) Ibid.} Year 691. ^{(g) Ibid.}

Notwithstanding this ill treatment at home, *Wilfrid* was well received by *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Sexulphus* dying about this time Bishop of *Lichfield*, the Bishopricks of *Lichfield* and *Leicester*, which for some time had been under his Care, were again divided, and *Hedda* made Bishop of *Lichfield*, and *Wilfrid* of *Leicester* (h).

(h) *Anglia Sacra. Pars I.*
p. 427.

Whilst these things were transacting, *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* died, in the Year 690, after he had lived to Fourscore and eight ; and filled the Chair of *Canterbury* two and twenty Years. In this posture, for the most part, continued the Affairs of the *English Church*, till the end of this Century.

C H A P. VIII.

Ab Anno 691 ad Annum 700.

SECT. I. **T**HE state of the Church at the Death of Theodore. Parishes said to begin. Right of Patronage said to begin.

II. The Church begins to incorporate with the State. Laws made for the support of the Clergy: The Immunities allowed them.

III. The importance of the Laws of Ina. His Example followed in other Kingdoms.

IV. A general Provision for the Clergy.

V. English attempt to bring the British and Scotch to the Usages of their Church. Aldhelmus appointed by a Synod to write on that Subject: Brings over many of the Britons. The Bishoprick of Sherburn erected. Aldhelmus made Bishop thereof.

VI. Reflections on the Seventh Century: The Revolutions, Opinions, Usages, and Changes thereof. The state of the Monasticks and Secular Canons. The esteem Collegiate Societies were in.

VII. The Reasons which gave such esteem to the Monastic Life.

VIII. Ill effects produced by the Opinion of the Monastic Life. Monasteries grew loose and debauched. Abbots and Abbesses married. The Military Men Abbots.

IX. The Present state of Religion and Discipline. The Interest the Bishops of Rome had in England. The sense the Church had of his Authority.

Annis

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(a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 5.

cap. 9.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

SECT. I. **A**FTER the Death of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, the See continued void till the first of July 692 (a), when Brightwald an Englishman was chose to succeed him, (b) but not consecrated till the later end of June the Year following. Brightwald had been Abbot of Ratulf in Kent, and was, as Bede saith, a Man well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, and acquainted with all Affairs of the Church (c), and

and though a Trust of that great and important nature never wants Terror and Affrightment but where it is not understood or considered as it should be; yet it must be owned an unspeakable comfort and advantage to a Successor to have a way opened to the hopes of his Success, by the Wisdom and Diligence of a Predecessor. This was the Case of *Brightwald*.

By the Address and good Conduct of *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the *English* Churches were brought to some Consistency and Union; and the Character and Honour of Metropolitan was fixed on the Bishops and See of *Canterbury*; and so far as the different Interests of the several Kingdoms would permit, the Metropolitcal Power established; great and unweildy Diocesses were divided, and new Episcopal Sees set up in proper places: And to perfect the Establishment he had so wisely begun, if we may rely on the Authority of the *Codex Cantuariensis*, quoted by Mr. *Wheelock* in his Notes upon *Bede*, towards the later end of his Life, *Theodore* applied himself with great Zeal and Vigour to excite the Devotion and Charity of well disposed People to build Churches in Towns and Villages; and in order thereunto begun the distinction and settlement of Parishes (a), and, as in the 'foresaid Manuscript, obtain'd a Grant from the respective Kings of *England*, that the Right of Patronage should be vested in those by whose Charity and Munificence Churches were built (b), and settled a Ministry answerable to these new Institutions he had happily begun.

SECT. II. And by the Blessing of God upon this wise and excellent Establishment, Christianity was generally received, and became the National Religion of the *English*; and towards the end of this Century the Church began to incorporate with the State; and the Laws of Princes took Religion under their Protection and Care, and made provision for the Support and Honour of the Clergy; and the Reverence due to Churches and Holy Things.

The first Instance we have of this kind is from the Laws of *Ina*, a King of the *West-Saxons*, but it is so hard to fix the Time when these Laws were made, that our Historians are not agreed of the exact Time of that Princes Reign; the Learned Person, by whom the Laws of our *Saxon* Kings are collected and published, fixes the

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Ed. Wheelock
pag. 399

(b) Ibid.

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the accession of *Ina* to the Crown in the Year 712, and ends his Reign in the Year 727. The Author of the *Fasti* begins his Reign in the Year 698. But without intermeddling in their Dispute, what is plain seems Authority enough to fix these his Laws in the later end of this, or the beginning of the next Century.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 7.

For it is agreed on all hands, that *Ina* was Successor to *Cedwalla*, and came to the Crown upon his going to *Rome*. Now *Bede* (a) saith, *Cedwalla* went to *Rome*, and there died, in the Year 689; besides, amongst the Persons who advised the forming and promulgation of these Laws were *Erkenwald* and *Hedda*, said in the Preamble to the Laws, to be the Bishops of *Ina*. There was an *Erkenwald* at this time Bishop of *London*, who was also Abbot of *Chertsey* in *Surrey*, and had been the Founder of it; but unless this part of *Surrey* was within the Bounds of the *West-Saxon* Kingdom, or *Ina* had, by the terror of his Arms, forced the King of the *East-Saxons* to become his Tributary; it is hard to say, why *Erkenwald* should be reckoned amongst the *West-Saxon* Bishops; and much harder to say, who else should be meant, if this was not the Person; now this Prelate died, as the Writers of his Story all agree, before the end of this Century, (b) at least before the Year 710.

(b) H. Whart.
Hist. Epif.
London.
pag. 17.

(c) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
Cap. 19.

And if we may rely on the Authority of *Bede*, *Hedda* Bishop of *Winchester*, who is doubtless the Person intended in the Preamble to *Ina*'s Laws, died about the Year 705 (c); so that the time of enacting and promulging these Laws seems capable of fixing no where else but in the later end of this, or, at furthest, in the beginning of the following Century.

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(d) Concil.
Britan. Vol. I.
pag. 182.

SECT. III. The Laws of *Ina*, as they took particular care of the Persons, and the support of the Clergy, so of the general Interests of the Church and Religion, they are in all Ten (d). 1. The first directs, That the Clergy should be careful to live up to the Canons of the Church. 2. The second prescribes, A Penalty for deferring the Baptism of Infants beyond thirty Days, and a much greater when they happen to die unbaptized. 3. The third directs, The observance of the Lord's-Day, and proportions the Punishment by the Circumstances of the Offender. 4. The fourth requires, The payment of Tythes or Dues to the Church at the Feast of *St. Martin*. And

And the tenth determines, By whom they shall be payable. The rest for the most part respect the Privileges of Churches, the Clergy, and Religious.

The *Saxon* Words, which in the fourth Article are render'd Tythes, or the Dues, are, by the Learned Collector of the Councils, translated *Primitiæ seminum*; and so as Mr. *Wheelock*, in his Epistle before that Work, observes, the same Words are generally translated by Mr. *Lambard*, the learned Publisher of the *Saxon* Laws; yet not only Mr. *Wheelock*, in the end of that Collection, but Mr. *Somner*, and the late *Saxon* Vocabulary, printed at *Oxford*, do all agree in rendring those Words, by *Ecclesiæ census*, the Tribute, or Dues of the Church: And which is more, *Bede*, who lived at the time when these Laws were made, not only speaks of the Maintenance of the Clergy, under the Name of Tributes, but saith of the most Mountainous and ill-inhabited Villages of *England*, *Nec unus quidem à Tributis Antistiti reddendis esse possit immunis*: That no Village was excused from paying its Dues to the Bishop (a): And if this doth not determine the nature of the Dues paid to the Clergy, it demonstrates they were not limited to the first Fruits of Seeds, as improperly rendered: But if these Words be truly rendered, it is unconceivable what is meant by them.

(a) Bedæ
Epist. ad Egbert. pag. 256.

For it is evident, that by the first Fruits of Seeds cannot be meant the Tythe of Wheat, Barley, or any other Corn; for our Historians are agreed in ascribing the first Grant thereof, to the Reign of King *Ethelmulf*. So that on the whole Matter it seems reasonable to conclude, that by the *Scyric Sceat*, or *Church Schot* here mentioned, was not any kind of *Prædial Tythe*, but a Charge upon Houses, possibly not unlike that which was called the *Rome-Scot*, or *Peter-Pence*, or that which is in some Places known by the Name of *Waxshot* to this Day, a certain Charge on Houses.

And although these Laws were peculiar to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, yet the 'foresaid Account of *Bede* puts it past a doubt, that the like care was taken in the other Kingdoms: at least, it appears, that this was the Case of the North of *England*, as by Councils held on that Subject, it appears to be of the Kingdom of *Kent*; wherein *Withred*, at this time King, with the

(a) *Concil.*
Brit. Vol. I.
 pag. 189.
 (b) *Concil.*
Britan. Vol. I.
 pag. 194.

advice of the Clergy and Nobility, in the Council of *Becancelde*, about the Year 694 (a), and in another at *Berg-hamsted* (b), about the Year 697, composed a Body of Laws for the well-governing and security of the Church and Clergy.

But though the Canons of those Councils have been published in all the later Editions of the Councils, yet they have escaped the notice of *Bede*, though he lived and flourished at this time; and indeed there are some things in them which have not the Air of this Age, and seem to be of a later growth.

SECT. IV. And though the care of the Affairs of Religion does not appear so early in the other Kingdoms, yet the Bodies of Ecclesiastical Laws, afterwards published by *Alured*, *Ethelstan*, and other *English* Kings, are enough to shew, that the other Kingdoms were not wanting in the care of Religion; for though these appear much later, yet it seems reasonable to think, that those Bodies of Laws were the work of Time, and not the product of single Councils, or particular Men: And there is no doubt to be made, but that the Clergy had every where a just portion of the publick Care; and that as their Persons were exempted from the personal Services other Men were obliged to, so their Estates were excused from many of those Charges and Services all other Lands were subject to.

(c) *W. Malmf.*
de Pontif.
XV. Scriptor.
 pag. 356.

And yet the Charter of King *Ina*, said to be granted in the Year 705, and attested by *Daniel*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Aldhelm*, Bishop of *Sherborn* (c), by which their Estates are excused from all Secular Services and Payments, has so much of the Spirit and turn of the later spurious Charters, that its Original and Authority are not free from Suspicion.

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SECT. V. This Century ended as it begun, in the Controversy about *Easter*; for tho' the *English* Churches had received the new Cycle, yet the *Scots* of *Ireland*, the *Picts*, and the *Britons*, did still adhere to their old Calculation; and therefore towards the later end of this Century, this Controversy was revived again, and the Zeal and the Pens of the *English* Clergy were employed upon this Subject. The Abbot of *Hy*, *Adamnanus*, being sent by his Countrymen upon some business, to the Court of King *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbrians*, was made a Con-

Convert to the Catholick *Easter*, (a) and went to *Ireland* to preach it up to his Countrymen (b). (a) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 16.
(b) Ibid.

As for the *Britons*, those who inhabited *Wales* seem to have had little or no Conversation with the *English*, from the coming of *Austin* till this time; and for such of the *Britons* as inhabited *Cornwal*, though they had been long Tributaries to the King of the *West-Saxons*, yet they so steadily adhered to the ancient Rites of the *British Church*, that except that one Instance which *Bede* gives of two *British* Bishops, who joined with *Wini*, Bishop of *Winchester*, in the Consecration of *Ceada*, Bishop of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, about the Year 664.

(c) I do not remember any one Instance, of any one act of Communion betwixt the *British* and *English*; and when it shall be considered, that *Ceada* was an *Irish Scot*, and had been bred under the Clergy from *Ireland*, and received his Priesthood from *Aidan*, Bishop of *Northumberland*; and that there had been a constant Communion betwixt the *Britons* and *Irish*, it seems possible to account for the fore-*sa*id Act of Communion, without sup-*po*sing any better Understandings betwixt the *Britons* and *English*. (c) Bedæ Eccles. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 28.

But however that Matter stands, it appears about the latter end of this Century, *Aldhelmus*, then Abbot of *Malmsbury*, was, by a Synod of the *West-Saxon Church*, appointed to write against them; and he obeyed the Order of the Synod, and was so successful in the Management of this Controversy, that, as *Bede* saith, (d) many of the *Britons*, subject to the Kings of the *West-Saxons*, were, upon the reading of that Discourse, brought over to the Catholick *Easter*: And such esteem did his Performances and Services meet with, that when the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* was divided in the beginning of the next Century, *Aldhelmus* was made the first Bishop of *Sherborn*, about the Year 705, and all the more Westerly parts of that Kingdom, containing the Counties of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Wiltshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwal*, were laid into that Diocess: And thus the *Britons*, inhabiting *Cornwal*, were put under his Care; and that Pre-*la*te has the first place in the Successions of the Bishops of *Salisbury*, to which place the See of *Sherborn* was removed under the *Norman Government*. In this posture, for the most part, the Affairs of the Church of *England* con- (d) Bed. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 19.

continued till the end of this Century ; and therefore without asking Pardon, I might fairly close it here.

Anno 699. S E C T. VI. However, because it may be of use to give those things in one view, which the intermixture and variety of Story have necessarily presented in broken and interrupted Prospect ; I shall close this Century with some Reflections on the present State of the Church of *England*, and the particular Opinions and Usages which the Age produced. Although the *English* Nation has great reason to bless the Memory of those who were instrumental in bringing it to the knowledge of Christ, yet it must be confessed, that the Doctrine of this Age had its mixture and alloy, and wanted many degrees of its primitive brightness and Purity : Of which the Opinions of Celibacy and Monastick Institutions are an Instance very extraordinary and surprizing.

Monasteries were at this time the only Nurseries of Discipline, and the chief Schools of Learning ; and therefore when a Bishoprick was erected in this Age, a Monastery was usually founded, as well for the Habitation as the support of the Bishop, and those who were to attend upon the Offices of Religion in the Cathedral, and to preach the Gospel to the adjacent Countries. These Bodies were, properly speaking, Colleges of Presbyters, and such as were in after Ages, distinguished by the Name of Secular Canons, and were under no Vows of perpetual Celibacy ; nor was this the Case only of those who were settled in Cathedral Monasteries, but those known by the Name of Monks and Nuns, were allowed to marry when they saw fit. And this Liberty had been so established by the Usage of the *English*, that when *Theodore*, in his *Penitential*, thought fit to forbid Monks and Nuns to marry (a), he subjoins this Exception ; *Tamen non destruamus illud quod consuetudo est in hac terrâ* : That he did not mean to destroy the Usage of *England*.

(a) Theodori
Penitential.
pag. 7.

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 45.
XV. *Scriptor*.
pag. 76.

As for the Rule of *St. Benedict*, it was not known in *Britain*, till brought over by *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*, towards the later end of this Century (b), and was not generally received till some Ages after his Death ; yet in the Histories of this Age, these Societies, as well those which were nothing else but Bodies of Secular Priests and Canons, as the other more properly so called, pass under

under the general Name of Monasteries, and this frequently misleads Men, who judge of these Foundations, by those of later Ages ; and from these Societies, for the most part Bishops were chosen, and hither they retired, as occasion served, for Study and Devotion ; and from hence the lower Orders of the Clergy were generally drawn.

And therefore it is no wonder if they were possessed with an esteem of the places where they themselves had been bred. Upon this ground the Clergy magnified the Perfections of the Collegiate State and way of living, till Men were run into an Error, and perswaded their Salvation could be safe no where else.

And in terms so extravagant did some of the Monastics of this Age publish their Sentiments of such Institutions, that in the Collections ascribed to *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the second Canon, the Ceremony of putting on the habit of a Monk is called a second Baptism, and said to have the operation and effect of that Holy Rite, in washing away Sin (a) ; an assertion so dishonourable to the Holy Institution of our Lord, that Heresy is too soft a Name for it ; and that of Blasphemy seems much better to fit it.

(a) *Secundum Baptisma, omnia peccata dimittuntur sicut in Baptismo. Theodori Capitula. Concil. Tom. 6. Labb. Col. 1875.*

SECT. VII. If all Mankind had been but one great effort of the Almighty Power and Succession created, as the first Man was, and Men thus set free from the Obligations to Parents, to Government, and Societies ; or God had, by direct appointment, given beginning to such Institutions, some Account might have been given of such wild Opinions ; but to establish the Perfection of our present Being, and our future Hopes, in Institutions that at the first view appear to cross the Ends, the Tendence, and Notices of Nature, and yet have no Foundation in the Revealed Law, is a Speculation that at first sight seems very unaccountable.

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For that God should interweave into our Natures a Principle that crosses the Perfection thereof ; that he should make the defect thereof necessary to the preservation of the Species, and propagate the Being by its Failings and Imperfections, is to make his Failings necessary to the very Being of Man, and found his Perfection on a Reason that must as necessarily destroy it ;

and thus at once to reproach Human Nature, and the Wisdom which gave beginning to it.

And yet however surprising and unacceptable these Notions may appear, whilst we consult our Reason, and attend to the Rule of Action which God has given us, if we carry our searches a little further, and look to the common Springs of human Action, the Wonder will abate; for it may be never any Opinion was better contrived, to flatter the Infirmities of human Nature. Here Disappointment, want of Courage, and of Conduct, Levity, and an uneasy Spirit may shelter themselves under the pretences of Religion: Princes may consecrate the difficulties of their own ill Conduct, and the married at once rid themselves of their Crosses, and all of them impress a value on their Faults and Failings, to which it may be they owe their uneasiness.

But whatever the Reasons were which gave beginning to such Institutions, it is very evident, that this Age had peculiar Opinions of the Monastick Life, and the Effects thereof were as contrary, as the Opinions new and surprising; for a while Men were so dazzled with the lustre of this easy way to Perfection, that Women renounced their Husbands Beds, Children and Parents abandoned each other, and Princes left their Thrones to hide themselves in Monasteries; and so particularly were the *English* charmed with this new Perfection, that in the later end of this, and the beginning of the following Century, we have the Examples of so many *English* Kings, Queens, and Princes, who gave up themselves to a Monastick Life, as are not to be paralleled in the utmost compass of the Histories of other Nations.

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SECT. VIII. But if one may be allowed to judge, this effect produced another of a contrary nature; for this gave such reputation to Retirement, that the Nobility and Ministers of State begun at last to beg the Monasteries as Rewards of their Services: And People of all sorts, married and unmarried, ran into them, and carried their Vices with them. And thus the Reputation of these Foundations was sunk, almost as soon as it was raised; and things ran to such a pass, before the middle of the next Century, that the Council of *Cloveshoe*, in the Year 747, not only takes notice of such Monasteries, as consisted wholly of Seculars, and of secular Persons
and

and Virgins, living together in the same House, but gives Posterity a view of the Extravagancies the *English* Monasteries were run into, by requiring, that those places should not be the Retreats of Poets, Musicians, and Buffoons (a).

(a) *Concil. Britan. Vol. I.*

(b) *Bed. Epist. ad Egbert. pag. 260. & 261.*

And some Years before this *Bede* complains, (b) that these Places were grown so loose, that such of the Nobility who desired to have their Children virtuously educated, were forced to send them abroad; and that those who were educated here, were under no Vows of Chastity, but gave up themselves to every Lewdness, and debauched the Nuns themselves (c); that the same Men were at once Abbots and Captains (d); that many of the Abbots were married Men (e); sometimes employed in the Conversation of their Wives, and the Care of their Children (f), and at other times in the Care of their Monasteries. And as they thus imployed their Monasteries whilst they lived, so they disposed them as their Property and Inheritance when they died, gave them to their Children, and sometimes bequeathed the same Monastery to a Son and Daughter (g).

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *Egberti Dialogus de Eccles. Instit. pag. 274.*

SECT. IX. The Controversy about *Easter*, and the Ecclesiastick Tonsure, took up a great part of this Age in *Britain*, as that of the *Monothelites* did abroad. Reliques had a share too in the esteem of this Age: But, after all, the Age appears much better than some have represented it. The use of Images, or rather Pictures, in Churches, was begun; but the Worship thereof was yet unknown. The Study of the Holy Scriptures was yet thought a Duty, and the Knowledge of them the best Qualification for the highest Stations in the Church. The Doctrines of Transubstantiation and Worship of Saints were yet unknown; and the Doctrine of Purgatory was unformed, but the first rude Lines of it were drawn; and the credit that began to be given to Dreams and Visions, that were now pretended to by some Men, and the Superstition of the Age were preparing a way for it.

The Conversion which some part of the *English* ow'd to the Bishops of *Rome*, in the beginning of this Century; and the Rites and Usages which all the rest had received from them, towards the later end of it, had raised a mighty Opinion of the Church and Bishops of *Rome*,

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Rome, amongst the *English*; and this naturally led them to go thither for Devotion; and in all the Questions of Religion, and disputes of Discipline and Rites, to apply themselves to *Rome* for Instruction and Advice; and the Figure the Bishops of *Rome*, at this time, made in the World, made it still more reasonable to pay a great deference and regard to the Opinion and Judgment of those Prelates, but more than this was not pretended to on the one side, or so much as thought of by the other; and as this shews the reason why *Wilfrid* went to *Rome* to represent his Case, so this also shews us the reason why *Wilfrid* complained, in the beginning of the next Century, that the *English* Church had, for two and twenty Years together, despised the Judgment the Bishops of *Rome* had pronounced in his favour.

And to make the Judgment of the *English* Church still more plain in this particular, the Canons of the five first General Councils, which declare, that all Controversies shall be finally determined in the Provinces wherein they arise; and that the Authority of Metropolitans, in their Synods, should be final and unappealable, were received and established by the whole *English* Church in the Council of *Hatfield*; and which is more, it seems very probable, that the Copies of these Councils had been brought from *Rome* by *Theodore*, and the settlement of a Discipline so cross to all the late pretensions of *Rome*, was chiefly, if not intirely owing to that Prelate, who had himself been made Archbishop at *Rome*.

And though in long tracts of Time, multiplicity of Articles, Laws, and Doctrines sometimes thwart one another, yet it is impossible to think, that a National Church should at once be brought to believe, that the Bishops of *Rome* had a Right to Appeals, or any Authority over them; and yet at the same time establish a Body of Canons, which directly contradict and forbid it.

These few Reflections will give us some light into the Doctrine and Discipline of the *English* Church, in this present Century, and afford just grounds to affirm, that there were some Errors and odd Opinions, and unjustifiable Rites and Ceremonies, great degrees of Ignorance, Credulity, and Superstition; and these were preparing the way for greater Errors; yet since the only, cer-

certain, and candid way of judging of the Doctrine and Discipline of a Church, is from the publick and authentick Acts thereof; and the Doctrine and Discipline of Christ, as asserted and explained by the five first General Councils, were, in the most publick manner that could be, received into the *English Church*, it seems reasonable to determine of the Doctrine thereof by the publick Judgment of this Church, and conclude, that notwithstanding some intermixture of Errors the Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles explained by the five first General Councils were the received Standard of the Faith and Discipline of the *English Church* in the present Age. When and by what Steps a Change was made, is to be considered in its proper place.

CHAP. IX.

Ab Anno 700 ad Annum 705.

SECT. I. **B**Ede's Learning and Character. Invited to Rome to assist Pope Sergius. The occasion thereof. He refuses to go. The Emperor Justinian calls a Council of the Eastern Bishops.

II. Canons there made, prejudicial to the Pretensions of the Bishops of Rome. Advantagious to those of Constantinople.

III. Cause of Wilfrid brought into debate in a Synod at Osterfield. Agreed to depose him. The Terms offered him.

IV. Wilfrid's Plea for himself. Charges the Synod with contemning the Bishops of Rome. Challenges them to answer it at Rome.

V. The Synod contemns the Authority of the Bishops of Rome., treats him worse, and excommunicates him for pretending to appeal to Rome.

VI. They justify their Proceedings at Rome, by asserting the Authority of the English Church final and unappealable.

VII. Wilfrid goes to Rome. Baronius's Account thereof mistaken.

VIII. Wilfrid's Address and Petition to the Pope. Begs the Pope to Petition the King of Northumberland in his favour. *{The course of this Proceeding inconsistent with the Bishop of Rome's Right to Appeals.*

IX. The Proceedings at Rome do not assert their Right to Appeals.

X. Bishop of Rome adjudged Wilfrid Innocent ; but does not pretend to bind the English Bishops, but sends Epistles to intreat for his Restoration. Wilfrid has no Opinion of the Success, and desires to stay at Rome.

XI. Wilfrid returns to England, is reconciled to Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury. Yet his Mediation, together with his Letters from Rome are rejected, and he threatned to be put to Death.

XII. Revolutions in Northumberland give Wilfrid new hopes. The Synod of Nidd called on his Affair. The Debate therein.

XIII. Opposers of Wilfrid the greatest Men of the Age. Account of their Persons and Characters.

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701.

(a) Baron.
Annal An.
701.

SECT. I. **B**aronius begins his Account of this Century with the Story of a Great Man, to whom the World is exceedingly indebted for his History of the last ; and this is the Holy and Venerable Bede (a), whose indefatigable Industry and comprehensive Genius have furnished the World with such lasting Monuments of Piety and Learning as ought to deliver the Age from the common reproach of Ignorance ; or at least ought to soften the Character of it.

Bede was, at this time, but about eight or nine and twenty Years of Age, and had spent his whole time betwixt the Abbies of Wiremouth and Girmy in the Bishoprick of Durham, yet the Books he had wrote had raised him to such Reputation in the Western Nations, that Sergius, at this time Bishop of Rome, wrote an Epistle to Ceolfride, Abbot of Girmy, under whose Government Bede now lived, to desire the Abbot would oblige him and the Western Churches with permitting Bede to come to Rome, (b) to be assistant to him in the Controversies then on foot ; but it does not appear by the Epistle, what the subject of Dispute was, wherein that Prelate needed the help of Bede.

(b) Ibid.

The

The *Monothelite* Controversy had for some time abated, and that about the Worship of Images was but gathering; therefore it seems most probable, that it was the new Body of Canons drawn up in the Council of *Constantinople*, called by the Emperor *Justinian* the Second, in the Year 692; the former Council of *Constantinople*, held in the Year 680, had published no Canons; therefore the Emperor *Justinian* intending to make such Collection of Canons, as might serve to compose a Body of Canon Law, called together the four Eastern Patriarchs, and about one hundred and eighty Bishops of the *East*; and, for ought appears, without summoning the Bishops of the Western part of the Empire.

SECT. II. This Assembly drew together a Body of Canons, consisting in all of one hundred and two; and because these Canons are said to be intended as a Supplement to the Fifth and Sixth General Councils, this Council is called *Quinisextum*, and owned by the Greek Church as a General Council. But though *Justinian* was at this time Emperor of *Rome*, and the Bishop thereof as much his Subject as any other Bishop of the Empire, was, and he must be believed, tender of his Right; and this Body of Bishops could not possibly be ignorant of the Rights or Pretensions of the See of *Rome*; yet the thirty sixth Canon of this Council, confirms to the Bishops of *Constantinople* the same Privileges that are enjoyed by the Bishops of *Rome*; and the thirty eighth lays it down as a standing Rule, that the external Polity and Order in Church Affairs ought to follow the course of the Empire.

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It is no wonder therefore if the Bishops of *Rome*, who, from the time that *John*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, had published his Claim to be the first Bishop of the Catholic Church, were infinitely jealous of the growing Power of the Bishops of that See, were very uneasy under these Canons, which by founding the precedence of the Bishops of *Rome*, in the state of the Empire, did, in effect avow the pretences of the Bishops of *Constantinople*, that City being, at this time, the chief Seat of the Empire.

Nor did this Council only lay a Foundation for the growing Power of the Bishops of *Constantinople*, but at the same time mortified the Ambition of those of *Rome*; for

(a) Baron.
Annal.

for in the thirteenth Canon it not only takes notice of an ill Usage of that Church to oblige their Presbyters and Deacons, at their Ordinations, to abandon their Wives, but on the contrary declares their Marriage lawful, and forbids their Separation upon the account of their Function: This so shocked the Patience of *Baronius*, that he calls it a profane Canon (a); certain it is, that upon Considerations of this kind the Authority of this Council has been rejected by a part of the Western Church, and great pains taken by *Surius*, *Bynius*, and *Baronius*, to lessen the reputation of it; and it is very likely, that these Canons are the *Capitula* intended by *Sergius* in his forefaid Epistle, and the assistance of *Bede* in this Controversy the occasion of writing it.

But whatever the intention of *Sergius* was, this Epistle did not only publish the Learning of *Bede*, but it has left the World a manifest proof of his great Modesty and Humility, and of the sense he had of the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*; for it is certain, that *Bede* never went out of *England*, though he was at this time in a state of perfect Health, and lived about four and thirty Years after it. This was so negligent a return of the Honour intended him, as seems no way to consist with the modern Notions of the Papal Power.

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SECT. III. That which challenges the next place in the beginning of this Age, is the unhappy Controversy which had given so much trouble to the last, the Case of *Wilfrid*. It is hard to say, how this Controversy was laid to sleep for some Years past; and it may be harder to point out the Springs which at this time set it into motion again. *Wilfrid* had continued from the Year 692, till about this time Bishop of *Leicester*; and whether it was that some ill Offices had been done, or whether it was, that by his own Indiscretion he had again provoked the Anger of *Alcfred*, the King of the *Northern English*, there is not light enough to determine.

But it appears, that about this time a design was formed to oblige *Wilfrid*, not only to give up all pretences to his Bishoprick of *York*, but to retire to a Monastery, and forbear all the Offices of his Holy Function. In pursuance of this Resolution *Alcfred*, King of the *Northumbrians*, and *Berthwald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with the greatest part of the *English* Bishops,

shops assembling in a Synod at *Onestresfield*, or *Osterfield*,
 (a) *Wilfrid* was sent for to confer with them; where, after long and warm Disputes, the King, and Archbishop and Bishops, agreed to confirm the Sentence of the late Archbishop *Theodore* against *Wilfrid*, relating, as I think, to the division of the Diocese of *York*, which *Wilfrid* hitherto so zealously opposed.

Nor did they stop here, but agreed upon a general Sentence of Deprivation of whatever he held, either in the Kingdom of *Mercia* or *Northumberland* (b); but after some longer debate, this Sentence was a little softened, and the Synod came to this Resolution, that if *Wilfrid* would give over his other Pretensions, he should retain the Abby of *Rippon*, provided he would retire thither, and surcease all the Offices of his Episcopal Function, and, without the leave of the King, never stir beyond the Bounds of that Monastery (c); and that in the presence of the Council he should give assurance of his submission to this Sentence, under his own Hand (d).

SECT. IV. These were Terms so thoroughly mortifying as put *Wilfrid* out of patience; and therefore he omitted nothing that might justify himself or reproach his Enemies; and in defence of himself he urged, that he had been almost forty Years a Bishop (e), that he had done Services to the Church, by bringing over the *English* North of *Humber*, to the Catholick *Easter* and Ecclesiastick Tonsure, by introducing the alternate chanting of Services into the *English* Church, by being the first Person who had brought over the Rule of *St. Benedict* (f); nor did he omit to reproach them with the contempt they had shewed to the Judgment of the Bishops of *Rome* in his favour, but said nothing of that which seems best to deserve remembrance, the Services he had done in the conversion of the *Frisians* and *South-Saxons*.

But after some time, in a very fierce and angry Air, told them, that *Agatho*, Bishop of *Rome*, *Benedict*, Bishop elect thereof, and *Sergius*, had declared him innocent, and given Judgment in his Favour (g); but they had preferred the Constitutions made under *Theodore*, to the Judgment of the Apostolick See; and for two and twenty Years together had despised the Authority thereof (h); and concludes with threatening them, that he would go to

(a) Eddii
 Vit. Wilfrid.
 cap. 45.
 XV. Scriptor.
 pag. 75.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

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(e) Eddii
 Vit. Wilfrid.
 cap. 45.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid.

(h) Ibid.

Rome and vindicate his Innocence, and dares any of them to justify their Proceedings against him before the wise Men of Rome (a).

(a) Ibid.

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SECT. V. Whatever *Wilfrid* expected, this Resolution made no change in the sense of the Council, but what was to his disadvantage; for the Council was so far from stopping their Proceedings, or thinking their Authority inhibited by *Wilfrid's* threatening to complain to the Apostolick See, that this his Conduct gave occasion to the most publick declaration that could be made by such a Body, that they believed that their Authority was final; and that they knew of no Right the See of Rome had to take cognizance of things transacted in England.

Hæc audientes Archiepiscopus & Rex dixerunt; modo utique culpabilis factus à nobis notatus damnetur, quod magis illorum quam nostram elegit iudicium.

And therefore immediately upon *Wilfrid's* saying he would go to Rome, the Writer of his Story adds, that the King and the Archbishop hearing what he said, immediately replied, That now he had justified their Proceedings, and made the Sentence against him appear to be just, by choos- ing to be judged at Rome, rather than by them.

And in great indignation the King subjoined, That if the Council thought fit he would presently force him to submit, and declare he was ready to abide by their Judgment (b); but the Council having passed their Promise to *Wilfrid*, that no violence should be offered to his Person, dissuaded the King from this course (c).

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 45.
(c) Ibid.

But to vindicate their Authority, they immediately excommunicated him, and all his Followers and Adherents (d); and were so severe in their Proceedings, that they decreed, That if any Abbot or Priest of *Wilfrid's* Party should, with the Sign of the Cross, bless the Meat of any Christian People, it should be esteemed as Meat offered to Idols, and thrown out of Doors (e); and that the very Holy Vessels made use of by that Party should be esteemed as defiled, and not used, till they had been washed (f).

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid.

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701.

SECT. VI. And to shew that this was not the effect of Resentment, but the steady and settled Judgment of the English Church; and that the Judgment of their Metropolitan in Synod was final; and that there lay no appeal to Rome as to a superior Court, whatever deference upon other Accounts might be due to that See.

See. When they sent their Messengers to *Rome*, to prevent the Aspersions or false Representations of *Wilfrid*, the first thing they charged upon that Prelate, and chiefly insisted on, was his refusing to submit to the Sentence of the Archbishop and his Synod (a).

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 51.

And when *Wilfrid* returned from *Rome*, King *Alfred*, and his Bishops, and Council, did again declare, *That what already had, and what should be hereafter decreed by the Archbishop and Bishops should never be altered by any Decrees of the Apostolick See* (b). Though the course of this Story will make it necessary to repeat some of these particulars, yet I thought it needful to lay them together, that we might in one view have the Judgment and Sense of the *English Church* of this Age, of the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, whose Pretensions have given so much trouble to after Ages. But to return.

(b) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 61.
pag. 84.

SECT. VII. The fore-said Council of *Osterfield* being ended, *Wilfrid* hastened away to *Etheldred*, King of the *Mercians*; and though the Council had deprived that Prelate of all the Preferment he held in *Mercia*, as well as in *Northumberland*, yet *Etheldred* having a particular esteem for *Wilfrid*, was prevail'd upon to promise him, that the Sentence of the Council should not be executed in his Dominions, till he could be informed of the Judgment of the Bishop of *Rome* in the Matter under dispute (c).

Anno
702.

(c) Ejusdem
cap. 46.

Wilfrid therefore lying under an Excommunication, hastened away to *Rome*. *Baronius* fixes the coming of *Wilfrid* to *Rome* in the Year 705, and in the first Year of Pope *John* the Seventh (d), and is positive it was not in the Reign of *John* the Fifth or Sixth; and grounds his Opinion on what *Bede* saith of *Wilfrid's* living four Years after his Restoration to his Bishoprick, and dying in the Year 709; but this Reason proves only that which was never denied, the time of his Restoration and Death.

(d) Baroni.
Annal. An.
705.

But it is evident from the words of *Wilfrid*, that this Council of *Ostresfield* was but two and twenty Years after the Sentence pronounced by *Agatho* in favour of *Wilfrid* (e); and the Council held by *Agatho*, was, according to *Baronius*, in the Year 679, and therefore this Council of *Ostresfield* must needs fall in the Year 701; and it is as evident, that *Wilfrid* presently after this Council went away to *Rome* (f).

Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 45.

(f) Ejusdem,
cap. 48.
pag. 77.

SECT.

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 48.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid.

SECT. VIII. But be this Matter as it will, *Wilfrid* arriving at *Rome*, in his first address to Pope *John*, tells him (a), *That he came not through Envy to accuse any body, but to vindicate himself before his Council, if any Person should come thither to accuse him.* Some time after his Arrival, he was followed by the Legates of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (b). This happened at a time when the Provincial Council of the Bishop of *Rome* was convened, to consider what Measures to take about the Canons of the Sixth General Council. (c)

Wilfrid presented a Petition to Pope *John*, setting forth, that a Controversy arising in the Churches of *Britain*, he had been deprived of his Bishoprick and Monasteries; and that upon this Account he had formerly applied himself to his Predecessors *Agatho*, *Benedict* elect, and *Sergius*, who had judged him innocent, and hoped that *John* would confirm the Judgment they had given; and that if any one would accuse him he might have the liberty to answer for himself; and further praying, that he would require *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, that his Monasteries, and Lands thereunto belonging, within his Dominions, might not, contrary to the Will of that Prince, and the appointment of the preceding Bishops of *Rome*, be taken from him (d).

He further prays, that he would make use of his Interest and gentle Admonitions, to perswade (e) *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, to observe what *Agatho* and his Council had determined in his favour; at least he hoped, *That by the help of the Pope's Petition* (f) *in his favour, he might be permitted to enjoy his two Monasteries of Rippon and Hagulstad.* This is the summ of *Wilfrid's* Petition, which has so little of the air and form of an Appeal, as would be esteemed an Affront, rather than a formal Appeal to a superior Court; for the very asking the Bishop of *Rome* to petition in his Favour, is so open a contradiction to a Canonical Right vested in that See, to receive Appeals, as a Court superior, that if there was no other Argument, this alone was enough to prove, that the *English* Church was yet a Stranger to the late Doctrine of Appeals, and the first, and indeed the only Article of Accusation which the Legates of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* charged upon *Wilfrid*, is all of a piece with the Petition of that Prelate, and the Sentiments of those who sent them to *Rome*. For

For the accusation against him was, that he had refused to submit to the Authority of the Archbishop and his Synod (a); and nothing can be more trifling and ridiculous, than to charge it upon a Man as a Fault, not to acquiesce in the Judgment of a Court, if there had been a superior Court, to which the Law permits him to remove his Cause by an Appeal: And the Folly had been greater still, not to bring this Charge to the Court where the Right of Appeals was lodged, if the Accusers had known of any Right, or so much as of any pretence of this kind.

SECT. IX. And the Conduct of *John*, Bishop of *Rome*, and his Council, no way thwart these Reflections on this Affair; they heard the Accusation, and the Defence of *Wilfrid*, and upon consideration thereof, pronounced him innocent; and whereas he before stood Excommunicated by the *English*, they received him into their Communion. And whatever this may be called, this amounts to no more than what the Canons of the Church had allowed to every Bishop, when a Priest, or a Lay-Man were Excommunicated; and to every Metropolitan in the case of Bishops. It is true, the better to testify the Unity of the Church, and that it was animated and governed by one common Spirit and Power, the Council of *Nice* required, that whoever was rightfully put out of the Communion of the Church by any one Bishop, should not be received to the Communion by any other.

Yet this Canon was never intended to oblige, but where the Power of the Keys was rightly applied; consequently every Church, and every Bishop, had a Right to Judge, when an Excommunicated Person desired to be admitted to their Communion, whether he had been rightfully put out of the Church or not. And, in fact, this was a common practice of the Catholick Church; and yet this practice was never thought any act of Superiority, of one Church, or one Bishop over another, but a common Right of every particular Church to judge for it self; and no further obliging to any other Church, than the Act was agreeable to common Right.

Thus *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, excommunicated the Church of *Asia*; and yet whilst it lay under that Censure, no other Church refused Communion with the

(a) *Ejusdem*
cap. 51.Anno
704.

Asiatick Churches. Thus too did the Bishops of *Rome* receive *Athanasius* and *Chrysostom* to their Communion, though excommunicated in the *East*; and yet no body ever blamed them for it: And, except *Bellarmino*, no body ever pretended to prove their Right to Appeals, from the exercise of a Power which necessarily flows from the Power of the Keys, and lies common to every Bishop of the Catholick Church.

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SECT. X. But whatever the Reason and Ground of the Proceedings of the Bishop of *Rome* and his Council were, the Matter of Fact is not to be denied; they pronounced *Wilfrid* innocent, but did not pretend to a final decision of the Controversy, nor to pronounce any judicial Sentence that should, from the formal and proper nature thereof, be binding to the *English Churches*.

(a) Concil.
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 1390.

But, instead thereof, *John*, Bishop of *Rome*, wrote a Letter (a) to *Etheldred*, King of *Mercia*, and *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, in which he desires that *Brightwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should call a Council, at which *Wilfrid* should be also present; and that *Bosa* and *John*, Bishops of *York* and *Hagulstad*, should be summoned; and that upon hearing of all Parties, they should endeavour to determine this Affair amongst themselves; and that in case the Matter could not be thus adjusted, that the Parties concerned in it should come to *Rome*, and that he would call together a greater number of Bishops than those present at *Rome* at this time, and endeavour, with their assistance, finally to determine this Affair (b).

(b) Ibid.

Wilfrid had found by experience, how little the Epistles of the Bishops of *Rome* signified in *England*; and therefore, notwithstanding all that had passed in his favour, he desired not to return to *England*, but to stay and wear out the short remains of his Life at *Rome* (c).

(c) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 53, & 60.

But however agreeable this was to the Inclination and Age of *Wilfrid*, being at this time above Seventy, it was not approved at *Rome*; but, on the contrary, having, as the Writer of his Life saith, promised all Duty and Obedience to the Apostolick See; the Interests thereof bore down his hope, and the Infirmities of the Old Man were forced to give way to an Authority that was never touched with pity, when Obedience was thought its Interest; for Pope *John*, and his whole Synod, commanded

Wil-

Wilfrid to return to *Britain* (a), and communicate their sense to the Kings and the Archbishop (b). (a) Ibid.
(b) Ibid.

This Holy Prelate, adds the same Writer, knowing how to obey, after he had furnished himself with Reliques and Vestments for the Ornament of his Churches, left *Rome* and returned to *England*, and, as I think, sometime in the compass of the Year 704.

SECT. XI. *Wilfrid* being returned, applied himself first to *Brightwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and prevailed so far upon him, that they were not only reconciled, but the Archbishop promised to use his Interest to mitigate the Sentence which the *English* Synod had passed upon him; or, as the Writer of his Life saith, *Spondit mitigare judicia dura olim in Synodo statuta* (c), he promised to soften the harsh Decrees which had formerly been pronounced against him by the Synod; a promise that had been very needless, if the Judgment of the *English* Church had been reversed or nulled at *Rome*, and very far short of his Duty, if the Archbishop had been apprised of any such Authority vested in the Bishop or See of *Rome*. Anno 705.
(c) Eddii Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 55.

From *Kent* *Wilfrid* hastened to the Court of the King of the *Mercians* (d), but *Ethelred*, the King thereof, when *Wilfrid* went to *Rome*, and to whom the Epistle of the Bishop of *Rome* is directed, had, in the Year 704, quitted his Government, and, according to the prevailing Humour of the Age, buried himself alive in the Monastery of *Bardeney* in *Lincolnshire* (e); but having resigned his Crown to *Kenred*, his Cousin-German, he made use of the Interest he had in that Prince to favour the Pretensions of *Wilfrid*; and, for himself, promised all the Services he was capable of doing for him (f). (d) Ibid.
(e) Ibid.
(f) Ibid.

Some time after this, by the Advice of *Ethelred*, *Kenred* sent Messengers to *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, to desire his leave for *Wilfrid* to come and wait upon him with the Writings he had brought from *Rome* (g); the King received the Messengers graciously, and told them, he would, in a little time, give them his Answer; accordingly, having advised with his Council, he did, at the time appointed, by their Advice, return them this Answer:

That he had a great value for their Persons; and that if they would ask any thing for themselves he would readily gratify

gratify them ; but commanded them to solicit him no more in the Affair of *Wilfrid* ; for, saith he, what my Predecessors, Kings of Northumberland, with the Archbishop, and their Council, did formerly agree upon ; and what my self, with an Archbishop sent from Rome, together with the greatest part of the English Bishops have again determined, I will never alter as long as I live, for what you call the Writings of the Apostolick See. (a)

(a) Ibid.

With this melancholly Message *Badwin* and *Aldfrid*, the Legates of *Wilfrid*, returned to him : But before the end of this Year this Prince died, and, as the same Author saith, in his Sickness repented this his Resolution, and vowed the Restoration of *Wilfrid*, and submission to the Judgment of the Apostolick See, if he recovered ; and charged the performance of this his Vow upon his Successor, in case of his Death (b).

(b) Ejsacm
cap. 57.

After a languishing Sickness King *Alcfred* died, and his Son *Osred* being but a Child, *Eadwulf* possessed himself of the Kingdom, and continued his Possession thereof for about two Months, during which time, *Wilfrid*, who, it seems, was not only known to *Eadwulf*, but thought himself safe in his Friendship, sent his Messengers to solicit for his Restoration, and came himself to his Abby of *Rippon*, that he might be at hand to possess himself of the Favours he expected from the Usurper.

(c) Ibid.

But instead thereof, this Prince, by the Advice of his Council, sent *Wilfrid* this very rough Message, *That if he did not depart out of his Kingdom in the compass of six Days, he would put to death all his Friends and Followers that he could meet with* (c). But the Reign of this Usurper was very short, for a Conspiracy being formed against him, he was driven out of his Kingdom, in about two Months, and *Osred* a Child of about eight Years old, the Son of *Alcfred*, set up in his stead.

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SECT. XII. This Revolution in the state of this Northern Kingdom, produced another in the Church thereof ; for now the Ministry falling into the hands of those who favoured *Wilfrid*, and which, it may be, was of greater moment, *Bosa*, Bishop of *York*, dying this Year, a way seemed opened to his Restoration ; and therefore *Brightwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in pursuance of the Instructions he had received from Rome, made a Journey to the North, and, at his Instance, *Osred*, King of

of *Northumberland*, together with the Bishops, Abbots, and Nobility of that Kingdom, *Wilfrid* the Complainant, and *Ælfred* an Abbess, assembled near to the River *Nidd*, together with the Archbishop, to find out some temper to accommodate that Affair, which had given so much trouble to the Church.

The Archbishop, after a short Prayer for Peace, open'd the Assembly with the reading, and an account of the importance of the Letters from *Rome*, directed to the Kings of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and to himself; and having declar'd his own Reconciliation with *Wilfrid*, proceeded to mind the Bishops concerned in this Controversy, of the Judgment of *John*, Bishop of *Rome*, and his Council in this Affair.

To this the Bishops, who opposed the Restitution of *Wilfrid*, answered, *Who had Power to change those things, which their Predecessors, together with Theodore, Archbishop, by the Apostolick See, and King Ecgfride had long since determined, and which had since been confirmed by King Alcfred, the Archbishop himself, together with the greatest part of the English Bishops, assembled in the Council of Osterfield (a)?*

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 58.
Anno
705.

SECT. XIII. That which makes this Answer a little more surprising is, that it speaks the sense of Men who were the greatest Zealots for the Rites and Usages of the *Roman Church*; and which is more, Men who make the greatest Figure in the *English History*, of which *John* of *Beverly*, at this time Bishop of *Hagulstad*, and afterwards of *York*, was doubtless one: And it is observable, that during this Controversy, the greatest Men amongst the *English Bishops* were those who opposed *Wilfrid*, and despised the Authority of the Bishops and See of *Rome*.

Upon *Wilfrid's* Banishment, in the Year 678 his Diocess was divided into two, and about three Years after into three, viz. *York*, *Hagulstad*, and *Lindisfarne*; in the See of *York* *Bosa* was his only Successor, and died this Year, a Man, as *Bede* saith, of singular Merit and Holiness; *Eata*, who was first Bishop of *Hagulstad* and *Lindisfarne*, and, upon the division of that See, Bishop of *Lindisfarne* alone, and afterwards of *Hagulstad*; he had been Abbot of *Mailros*, and, as the same Author saith, a Man of great Probity and Holiness.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.

(b) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 4.
cap. 27, 28, 29.

(c) Bedæ De
Tempor. rati-
one, cap. 66.
fol. 64. Ed.
Basil. An.
1529.

(d) Regist.
Dec. & Cap.
Lincoln.
Notat. pag. 42.

Cuthbert was, by the Synod of *Alne*, (a) in which *Theodore* presided, chosen Successor to *Eata* in the See of *Lindisfarne*, a Man so famous for his Ascetick Life and Miracles, that his Story and Miracles take up several Chapters in the Ecclesiastick History of *Bede* (b), but in his Book *De Temporum ratione*, he saith of that Prelate, that his whole Life, from his Infancy to his Old Age, was famous for Miracles (c); but his Glory shined still brighter in the following Ages, when the Monks came to have the telling of his Story.

In the See of *Hagulstad*, *John* of *Beverly* succeeded *Eata*, whose Figure in the English Story, challenges the next place to that of *Cuthbert*. He was personally known of *Bede*, and has a Character from him every way becoming his Function and Station in the Church: But under the Name of *St. John* of *Beverly*, his Fame and Miracles are celebrated by after Ages, and a Festival was erected to his Memory by the English Church in the beginning of the fifteenth Century; and in the Instrument by which the observance of that Festival was established, the reason thereof is said to be, the Assistance he gave to *Henry* the Fifth in the Battel of *Agincourt* (d).

This *John* was personally present at the Council of *Nidd*, and was doubtless one of those Bishops who opposed the Restitution of *Wilfrid*.

CHAP. X.

Ab Anno 705 ad Annum 736.

SECT. I. **T**HE Affair of *Wilfrid* compromised: He made Bishop of *Hagulstad*: The Reasons and Circumstances thereof. The Death of *Wilfrid*.

II. A Council said to be called at London to establish the Worship of Images; and to be occasioned by the Visions of *Edgwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*: The Mistakes about this Affair. Images not yet received into the English Church. Mistakes of *Baronius*, and the Centuriators about this Affair.

III. Pilgrimages come into Reputation: The debauchery occasioned thereby.

IV. Char-

IV. Charters said to be granted to the Monastery of Evesham, an Imposture.

V. Several English famous abroad. Boniface, an Englishman Archbishop of Mentz. The Clergy attempt to bring the Britons and Scots to the Catholick Easter.

VI. Britons continue their ancient Rites; refuse Communion with the Church of England. Brightwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, dies.

VII. Tatwin succeeds, pays no regard to the Bishop of Rome. State of the Church of England at the Death of Bede.

VIII. In the state of the Church by Bede, no account of the Lower Clergy. Conjecture at the reason of the late establishment of Parochial Clergy.

IX. Bede complains of the number of Monasteries, and ill consequences of the Monastick Life. Advises the lessening the number of Monasteries, and increasing of the Secular Clergy: Shews the great want of such. Translates the Creed and Lord's-Prayer into English, to be taught the People.

X. Bede advises erecting Monasteries into Episcopal Sees, and taking the Lands thereof for their Subsistence; erecting York into an Archbishoprick: Charges the Monasticks with debauchery, and shews the danger to the State by their encrease.

XI. English Princes retire to Monasteries: Not such Perfection therein, as the Legendary Writers pretend, shewed from Bede's Account of the Looseness of those Societies.

XII. Reasons for inserting the Reflections of Bede on the Monasticks. York not an Archbishoprick in the Year 735. Effect of the Monastick Life what Bede foretold.

XIII. Bede's Epistle to Egbert, Bishop of York, his last Works. State of Learning in his Time. The decay of Learning.

SECT. I. **B**UT though the Judgment of the Bishop and Council of Rome, seconded by the Interest and recommendation of Berthwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, had no force in the forefaisd Council, a

Annis

705.

706.

Rea-

Reason of a different nature prevailed; for *Ælfled*, Abbess of *Streneshall*, now *Whitby*, and Sister of the late deceased King, declared in the Council, that her Brother *Alcfred*, late King of *Northumberland*, did, upon his Death-Bed, make a Vow to restore *Wilfrid*; and left it as a Charge on his Successor to perform it, in case he died before it could be accomplished: This changed the former Resolution of the Council; and this Temper was at last agreed upon, That *John*, at this time Bishop of *Hagulstad*, should be removed to the See of *York*, now void by the Death of *Bosa*; and that *Wilfrid* should succeed him in the Bishoprick and Abby of *Hagulstad*; and, together with them, enjoy his Abby of *Rippon*.

And thus ended this Affair, which, with some Intermissions, had lasted near forty Years, which I have related at length, that we may at once see the sense the *English* Church then had of the Authority of the Bishops and See of *Rome*; and how little colour there is for the Pretences to a Right of Appeals, or a Patriarchal Power extended to the *English* Church, which some Learned Men have pretended to prove, from the Story of *Wilfrid*.

(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 19.

The same Year in which this Council was held, died *Hedda* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*; and, upon his Death, his Bishoprick, which had for a time comprehended the two Kingdoms of the *West* and *South-Saxons*, was divided (a): *Daniel* was made Bishop of *Winchester*; *Aldhelm*, Bishop of *Sherborn*; and the Bishoprick of *Seolsey*, comprehending the Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, and which, from the time that *Wilfrid* had relinquished it, had been under the Administration of the Bishops of *Winchester*, was now filled by *Eadbert*, late Abbot thereof, and from this time continued a distinct Bishoprick.

Anno
709.

About four Years after his Restoration died *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *Hagulstad*, at *Owndle* in *Northamptonshire*, where he had a Monastery, in which he died; but his Corps being first embalmed, and attended with great numbers of the Religious, was, with great Pomp, carried to *Rippon* in *Yorkshire*, where it was buried; and he who was never at quiet before, was thus laid to rest. Notwithstanding his Troubles and repeated Banishment that Prelate left a great deal of Wealth behind him; which,

which by his Will he ordered to be divided into four Parts (a), whereof one, and that the best, he gave to the Churches of *St. Mary* and *St. Paul's* in *Rome*; the second to the Poor; the third to the Priors of the Abbies he had founded, the better to enable them by Presents to make Friends with their Kings and Bishops; the fourth part he gave to such of his Attendants and Followers which he had not otherwise provided for in his Lifetime.

(a) Eddii
Vit. Wilfrid.
cap. 60.

His Charity to the Churches in *Rome* is, by his direction, to be offered as Gifts for his Soul, but he lived too early to give direction for Masses, or think of providing against the dangers of Purgatory.

SECT. II. The Controversy about the Worship of Images has given a Title to this Age, and took up a great share of the later end of it; a way of Worship so agreeable to corrupted Nature, that we are told, this Age was contented to take it upon the Authority of Dreams and Visions; and the *English* Church so forward in it, that *Baleus*, (b) and from him the *Magdeburgenses*, as well as other Learned Writers, tell us of a Council held in *London*, in the Year 710, wherein this Worship was established; others place this two, and some four Years later; and, for ought appears to the contrary, are all equally in the right. The occasion and circumstances whereof are thus related.

Anno
710.

(b) Scriptor.
Britan. Cent.
prima, pag. 88.

Edgwin a Monk, being made Bishop of *Worcester*, about the Year 692, had, about ten Years after, a Vision, wherein three Persons are said to appear to him, whereof one was thought by him to be the Blessed Virgin, requiring him to build a Monastery, and therein set up her Image, and cause it to be worshipped; and that in pursuance thereof that Prelate erected a Monastery at *Evesham* in *Worcestershire*, where the Vision appeared, and going to *Rome* to have the Privileges thereof confirmed, *Constantine* then Bishop, sent *Boniface* his Legate into *England*, who, together with *Berthwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling the 'foresaid Council, besides confirming the Privileges of the Monastery of *Evesham*, appointed the setting up and Worship of Images in Churches. This is the Account we have of this Affair, from the Monks of *Evesham*, and the Legendary Writers of their Story.

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. 5. Lab.
Col. 1582.

And the Centuriators seem to give credit to this Story, and bestow a great deal of Passion upon it, and which is more, upon Bishop *Edgwin* too; yet, after all, the Charter of *Evesham*, for the sake whereof all this Story has its beginning, is just as well grounded as the Charter said to be granted to the Monastery of *St. Medard*, at *Soisons* in *France*; which Charter bears date in the Year 594, and is said to be granted by *Gregory the Great*, and to be attested by *Mellitus*, Bishop of *London* (a); and yet this was ten Years before the Bishoprick of *London* was erected, and three or four Years before *Austin* came into *England*, in order to the Conversion of the *English*.

(b) *Concil.*
Tom. 6. Lab.
Col. 1654.

Anno
710.

And the 'foresaid Story of the Legantine Council under *Boniface*, seems no better grounded; for this *Boniface* can be no other than *Winfrid*, an *English-man*, who changed his Name for that of *Boniface*, and was afterward Archbishop of *Mentz*, and successively Legate to *Gregory* the Second and Third, and *Zachary* the Second, for the space of thirty six Years (b): But in his Epistle to Pope *Stephen*, wherein he gives a full account of his Services to the See of *Rome*, *Boniface* does not pretend to have been Legate to *Constantine*, Predecessor to *Gregory* the Second; but, on the contrary, the date of that Epistle, compared with the number of Years in which he served the Bishops of *Rome*, in the quality of Legate, demonstrates, he had never been Legate to Pope *Constantine*, and much less at the time of this Council; for that Epistle was wrote about the Year 754, which was four and forty Years after the 'foresaid Council of *London*, and about forty after the Death of Pope *Constantine*, and consequently the first advancement of *Boniface* to the Legantine Power will fall in with the Year 718, which was about the fourth of *Gregory* the Second, and about eight Years after the 'foresaid Council of *London*: And as we are thus deprived of the Legate, *Bede* has depriv'd us of the Council held under him, at least, has left no remains of any such Council, though he lived and flourished at this time, nor so much as any remembrance, or mention, of such an Assembly.

Anno
710.

And, it may be, if one looks a little nearer, the mighty Privileges with which the Religious of the Monastery of *Evesham*, made so much noise in after Ages, would

appear as well grounded as the Council which confirm'd them, or the Visions of their Founder; for notwithstanding the exemptions from secular Services, said to be granted them by the Kings *Kenred* and *Offa* (a), confirm'd by *Edgwin*, Bishop of *Worcester* (b), and *Constantine*, Bishop of *Rome*, and the great Immunities the Monastics did afterward pretend to by Vertue of the Charters of this Age, *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, in his Epistle to *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the Year 746 (c), observes the Estates of the Monks were so far from being excused from Secular Services, that their very Persons were not exempted, but, on the contrary, obliged to labour in the building the Palaces of their Kings (d), and such other servile Works as they required; and that that Servitude, though as he said peculiar to *England*, was an ancient Usage (e). But to return.

That the Glories of the Monastery of *Evesham* might be all of a piece, the same Authority to which we owe our Account of this Council, has obliged the World with several Grants and Charters, which take a great deal of room in *Spelman's*, *Binius*, and *Labbe's* Collections, as well as in the *Monasticon*, though the Marks of Falshood and Imposture are so plain, that both *Binius* and *Baronius* (f) are contented they should pass for such. Nor do they treat the Story of the 'foresaid Council in a better manner; and yet the Epistle of Pope *Constantine*, to *Berthwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* (g), the Charters of *Kenred* and *Offa* (h), and the Council of *Aln*, said to be held upon the occasion of the Monastery of *Evesham*, do all depend on the Authority they reject. The truth is,

This Story of the Council of *London*, for which there is the same Authority as for the Visions of *Edgwin*, lessens the Antiquity of Image-Worship, whereas *Baronius* would have it believ'd, that the Worship of Images was brought into *England*, together with the Gospel, by *Austin* the Monk, and chooses to loose the Glory of *Edgwin's* Visions, to venture the displeasure of the whole *Benedictine* Order, and dash a Scene of Invention, which cost some later Monk a great deal of Labour, rather than bring the Worship of Images one Age lower than the Days of *Austin* (i).

Anno
710.

(a) *Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 212.*

SECT. III. And yet, after all, in the Charter which contains an Account of the Visions of *Edgwin*, there is not, as the very Learned and Judicious Publisher thereof well observes, any mention of the Worship of Images, or of introducing them into Churches (a). And there is great reason to think, this was a Corruption of a later date; the Reasons of *Baronius* to the contrary shall be considered, when the Controversy about Image-Worship calls us to it. In the mean time,

(b) *Baron.
Annal.
An. 709.*

I cannot omit to observe, what the many Instances we have of it, about this time, will scarce suffer one to pass by; and that is, an odd and surprising Opinion of the Merit and Holiness of Pilgrimages to *Rome*, which so wonderfully prevail'd at this time, that the *English* People, of all Ranks and Degrees, of every Sex and Age, travelled to *Rome* (b), and placed a mighty Confidence in visiting the Tombs of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and such other Holy Men as had there suffered for the sake of Christ, and put such stress upon it, as if a little, and, in appearance, a trifling Instance of Zeal, which Christ and his Apostles had never so much as mentioned, had been enough to atone for the Breach of those Holy Laws they had declared necessary to Happiness and Salvation.

(c) *Epist.
Bonifacii.
Concil. Brit.
Vol. I. p. 241.*

And it happened herein, as it generally does, when such Instances of Zeal obtain in the World, those gained the greatest Reputation for Devotion, who, it may be, had the least share of it. In short, this Humour so prevail'd about the middle of this Century, that *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, in an Epistle to *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* (c), not only takes notice of the *English* Nuns running to *Rome*, upon this occasion, but to ascribe to this Cause, what he further adds, that there were few Cities in *Lombardy*, *France*, or *Gaul*, in which there were not to be found some lewd Women of the *English* Nation (d); and upon this ground recommends to him the suppression of this Practice, as of very scandalous and ill consequence (e).

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

Nor were the *English* singular in this piece of Devotion, but the *French* had so considerable a share therein, that the pretences of Pilgrimage to *Rome* and *Tours*, became a common Art of Oppression amongst the Nobility and Bishops of *France*, who, under that pretence, so

so frequently raised Money from their Tenants and Vassals, that in one of the Capitulars of *Charles the Great*, that Prince not only takes notice of this corrupt Practice, but thought himself obliged to forbid it by a Law (a). (a) Concil. Tom. 7. Lab. Col.

Amongst those which this unaccountable Zeal drew to *Rome*, *Bede* makes mention of *Cænred*, King of the *Mercians*, and of *Offa*, a young Man of great Vertue and promising hopes, Son of *Sighere*, King of the *East-Saxons*, who, in the Year 709, went to *Rome* and turned Monks.

SECT. IV. And there seems no reason to doubt, Anno 710. but that this piece of History gave occasion to the Charter (b) said to be granted to the Monastery of *Evesham*, by *Kenred* King of the *Mercians*, and *Offa* King of the *East-Angles*, and confirmed by *Constantine* Bishop of *Rome*; but, as ill luck would have it, in this Charter *Offa* is said to be King of the *East-Angles*, whereas there was never any King of the *East-Angles* of that Name, till many Years after the date of that Charter; and the *Offa* that *Bede* mentions, was a Prince of the *East-Saxons*, and never King, but during the Life of his Father, King thereof, took the Habit at *Rome*, and there continued till he died (c). (b) Concil. Britan. (c) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib 5. cap. 20.

Besides, it is not easy to conceive, what *Offa*, a Prince of the *East-Saxons*, had to do at *Evesham*, in the Kingdom of *Mercia*; and the *Offa* who was afterwards King of *Mercia*, came not to the Crown till above forty Years after the Death of *Constantine*, Bishop of *Rome*. But to return.

The frequent Wars betwixt the *English* Princes made it difficult for the Bishops, who could not but share in the circumstances of the Kingdoms wherein they lived, to act as the state of the Church required; and therefore it is no wonder if our Notices of some past Years are few, and very imperfect; and, for the most part, owing to the Invention of later Ages, and better fitted for Legend than History.

SECT. V. But whilst we have so little at home, both Anno 715. our own and Foreign Histories make some of the *English* Clergy memorable for what they did abroad; wherein *Boniface* seems justly to have deserved the first place: He was born in the *West* of *England*, his proper Name *Winfrid*; and having, by diligent Study, fitted himself

for preaching the Gospel, about the Year 715 he went into *Friesland*, where he preached the Gospel, and, by the Blessing of God upon his Labours, he became a great Instrument of God's Glory. Some Years after he went into *Germany*, where his Successes were so considerable, that he was made Archbishop of *Mentz*; yet this Prelate, however otherwise a good Man, had a mighty dash of Bigotry, and was a great Instrument in introducing the usurped Authority of the Church of *Rome* amongst the *Germans*, as well as in their Conversion to the Christian Faith; as will appear in its proper place.

But though this Prelate, from the advantage of his Character, the Services he did for the Church of *Rome*, and the share he had in shifting the Crown of *France*, from the *Merovignian* Line to the Family of *Pippin*, and the Changes which that produced, has had the good Fortune to make a great Figure in Story, yet it must be added, that the *Germans* have been just to the *English* Nation, and given *Wilfrid*, and *Willebrod*, and his Followers, the Honours they deserved. *Wilfrid* first preach'd the Gospel to the *Frisians*, inhabiting the Province of *Utrecht*, as we are told from the Writers of their Story, about the Year 687 (a).

(a) W. Heda
Hist. Ultraject.
pag. 25.

But *Wilfrid* leaving that Country, the People relapsed to their Idolatry again; while *Willebrod*, with some other of the *Northern English*, as the same Historians relate, being sent by *Egbert*, Archbishop of *York*, arrived in *Friesland* about the Year 690, (b) under the countenance of *Pippin*, King of the *Franks*, was so successful in his preaching the Gospel, that he established a Christian Church, and founded the Bishoprick of *Utrecht*, and was himself the first Bishop thereof (c), and was succeeded therein by *Boniface* (d).

(b) Ejsaem
pag. 26.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Chron. 9.
de Beka Hist.
Ultraject.
pag. 8, 9.

John de Beka (e) agrees with the 'foresaid Writer in all the circumstances of this Story; and yet, though there are some Mistakes in the circumstances thereof, there is no doubt but *Wilfrid*, and *Willebrod*, and *Boniface*, were great Instruments in the preaching and settling the Christian Religion amongst the People inhabiting about the *Rhine*.

Others of the *English* Clergy, distinguish'd themselves by their Zeal to bring the *Scots* and *Picts* over to the Catholick *Easter* and Ecclesiastick Tonsure: Amongst these

these *Egbert* and *Ceolfred* challenge the first place; *Egbert* went on this Errand to *Ireland*, to preach to the *Scots*, and from thence returned to a Colony of the *Scots* in the Island of *Hii*, now *Iona*, where *Bede* exceedingly magnifies his Conduct and Success (a); and as *Aldhelm* late Bishop of *Sherborn*, had been employed to bring the *Britons* of *Cornwal*, so *Ceolfred*, Abbot of *Girwy*, now *Farrow* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, was employed to write, to bring over the Inhabitants of the Northerly parts of *Britain*, then known by the Name of *Picts*.

And as *Ceolfred* seems to have outdone all that had before wrote upon this Subject, so it appears that his Success was answerable; and that his Epistle to *Naitan*, King of the *Picts*, brought over that People to an Union with the *English*, in the Rites and Usages of the *Roman Church* (b): But the Labours of the *English Clergy* were not so successful against the *Britons*.

SECT. VI. For notwithstanding the Writings of the Learned *Aldhelm*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, the *Britons* yet retained their Animosity to the *English*, and their ancient Rites and Usages (c); and were so far from coming into the *English Establishment*, that in the Account *Bede* gives of the state of the *English Church* in the Year 731, he says of the *Britons*, that they were as warm and fierce as ever, in opposing the Usages of the whole Catholick Church (d); so that the formal Story of King *Ina*'s marrying *Guala*, Daughter of *Cadwalder*, a *British King*, and uniting *Cornwal* and *Wales* by that Marriage, to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and afterwards calling a Council of the *English Bishops* and Nobility, (e) wherein the Intermarriages of the *English* and *British* were agreed upon, looks like an ill-made Tale, and of a later date, and seems to deserve as little credit, as what is said of the submission of the *British*, to the Bishops of *Rome*, or to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as their Metropolitan.

And yet there is no doubt to be made but the Bishops of *Rome* had constituted the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, as far as in them lay, Metropolitans of the *British*, as well as of the *English Churches*; and done all they could to bring them to a submission to the Sees of *Rome* and *Canterbury*: But this Account of *Bede* shews, that an hundred and thirty Years Conversation and Neighbourhood of the Emissaries and Friends of the Church of *Rome*,

(a) Bede. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 23.

(b) Bede. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 22.

(c) Bede. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 24.

(d) Bede. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 5. cap. 24.

(e) Concil. Brit. Tom. I. pag. 219.

(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 5. cap. 24.
(b) Ibid.

Rome, had yet made no change in the *British Church*; but as *Bede* saith of them, notwithstanding the 'foresaid Story of *Ina*, that the *Britons* were at this time, for the most part of them, a free and independant People (a), so he observes it (b), as a particular Providence, that the *Britons*, who refused to assist in the Conversion of the *English*, were not, by the *English*, brought over to the Catholick *Easter* and Ecclesiastick Tonsure; by which, in all the Writings of this Age, is meant the Usages of the *Roman Church*.

(e) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 23.

On the other hand, that Writer observes, that the *Scots* and *Picts*, who had been instrumental in the Conversion of the *English*, were, by the *English*, generally brought over to the Catholick *Easter* (c), or, in other words, to Communion with the Church of *Rome*.

(d) Ibid.

In this posture stood the Affairs of the *English Church*, at the Death of *Berthwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, after he had filled the Chair thirty seven Years, six Months, and fourteen Days, died the fifth of the Ides of *January*, in the Year 731 (d).

Anno
731.

(e) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 24.

SECT. VII. *Tatwin* succeeded in the See of *Canterbury*, a Man of considerable Learning, great Probity and Wisdom (e), he was consecrated at *Canterbury*, Sunday the tenth of *June*, after the Death of *Berthwald*, by four Bishops; and these were, *Daniel*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Inguald*, Bishop of *London*; *Aldwin*, Bishop of *Lichfield*; and *Aldulf*, Bishop of *Rocheſter* (f); and without applying himself to *Rome*, for Confirmation, or a Pall, immediately entered upon the discharge of his Holy Function.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Chron.
Saxon. An.
693.
Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 9.
(h) Baron.
Annal.
Anno 690.
(i) Chron.
Saxon. An.
694.

As for his Predecessor, he had been consecrated in *France* (g), and not at *Rome*, as *Baronius* (h) would have it believed; the reason thereof is omitted by *Bede*, but it seems most probable, it was owing to the Wars amongst the *Saxon Princes*, in which the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* under *Ina*, and that of *Kent*, were engaged at the time of *Berthwald's* Consecration (i).

Anno
731.

(k) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 24.

Bede (k) concludes his History in this Year, with an Account of the present state of the *English Churches*, wherein there were settled, in all, about seventeen Bishopricks, under the Government of one Metropolitan, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; of these seventeen, the Kingdom of *Kent* had two, *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter*, the former possessed by *Tatwin*, the later by *Aldulf*; the King-

the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons* had only one, whose See was *London*, and *Inguald* was at this time Bishop thereof; the *East-Angles* had two Bishops, *Eadbert* and *Hadulacus*, the former Bishop of *Dummock*, the later of *Helman*; the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* had two Bishopricks, *Winchester* and *Sherborn*, *Daniel* was Bishop of the former, and *Fothere* of the later; the great Kingdom of the *Mercians* contained five Bishopricks, and these were *Lichfield* and *Leicester*, both at this time under the care of *Aldwin*, *Sydnacester* or *Lindesey* was under the government of *Cymbert*; *Worcester* possessed by the younger *Wilfrid*; and *Hereford* by *Walstod*.

The Kingdom of the *South-Saxons* was all within the Diocess of *Seolsey*, and at present void, and under the care and government of the *West-Saxon* Bishops: The Kingdom of *Northumberland* had at this time four Bishopricks, these were *York*, where *Wilfrid* the Second held that See; *Lindisfarne*, possessed by *Edilwald*; and *Hagulstad*, of which *Acca* was now Bishop; and *Candida Casa*, or *Withern*, held by *Peðelmus*, who was the first Bishop of that See, since the Conquest of that Country by the Kings of *Northumberland*.

SECT. VIII. But whilst the World is thus obliged by *Bede* with so particular an Account of the Bishops and Diocesess at this time in *England*; he has left us intirely in the dark, as to the state of the Parochial Clergy; we are indeed told by the Publisher of his History (a), from a Manuscript in *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*, that *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had set on foot the building of Churches in Towns and Villages, and begun to distinguish the Precincts and Bounds thereof, by the Name of Parishes; and, for the better encouragement thereof, had obtained a Grant of the *English* Princes, that such as built Churches within their own Lordships, and at their own Charge, should have the Patronage thereof.

Anno
731.

(a) Bede
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 5. cap. 8.
Ed. Wheeloc.
pag. 399.

And the Account the *Doomesday-Book* gives of the State of Parish-Churches, at the time of the *Norman* Conquest, gives reason enough to believe, that the Right of Patronage, had its beginning from the Bounty of those who were Founders of the Churches. And this I take to be the reason, why in recounting the Possessions of the Great Men, in the several Parishes, after an ac-

count of the Hides of Land they possessed, and the number of their Vassals, that Account usually adds, *Cum Ecclesia*, and frequently, *Cum tertia vel quarta parte Ecclesiae*, which Note seems to direct us, not only to the origine of Patronage, but shews us how our Parish-Churches begun to be erected, some by the sole Munificence of particular Lords, for the benefit and convenience of their Tenants; others by the united Charities or separate Donations of several Persons.

And from hence, as I think, in after-times, arose the division of Parishes into Medieties, and sometimes into more Portions, and the Presentment of distinct Patrons to the several Portions or Medieties. The Learned Author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, carries the settlement of Parishes still higher than the fore-said Manuscript, and ascribes the division of the Province of *Canterbury* to *Honorius* (a), who was advanced to that See about the Year 627; but there is so little colour for that Opinion, that on the contrary it is demonstrable, that the Christian Religion was not then perfectly settled in the Kingdom of *Kent*; and that of the Countries now within the Province of *Canterbury*, above three parts of four were yet in the state of Paganism, till after the Death of *Honorius*.

(a) *Antiquit. Britan. Vit. Honor. p. 52.*

And though it is evident, that *Austin*, *Birinus*, the *Scots* from *Ireland*, and indeed all that were concerned in the Conversion of the *English*, were careful to encourage the building of Churches for the publick Worship of God; yet the total silence of *Bede*, in his History, compared with the Complaint he afterwards made, in his Epistle to *Egbert*, Bishop of *York*, of the want of a Clergy settled in Towns and Villages, and what he says in his History, of the Clergies never appearing in Country Towns and Villages, but when called thither to discharge some Offices of their Holy Function, afford sufficient ground to believe, that there is a Mistake in what is said of *Theodore's* dividing *England* into Parishes.

But, on the contrary, it seems highly probable, that the distinction of Parishes, if begun before this time, had hitherto made but a very little progress; and that those few Churches which were erected in Towns and Villages, were Chappels, or auxiliary Churches to the Mother Churches of the respective Diocesses, rather than pro-

proper Parish Churches, and had not fixed and settled Presbyters therein, but were generally supplied from those Collegiate Societies, which at this time passed under the general Name of Monasteries; and that these Foundations so exhausted the Charity of the Age as to stop the progress of Parochial Institutions, and thereby obstruct the truest Interests of Religion and Holiness.

SECT. IX. Thus much is certain, that the fond Opinions of the Monastick or Collegiate Life, which prevail'd so much amongst the *English* in the last Century, were grown to such excess in the beginning of this, that the mischief thereof, both to the Church and State, was become so visible, that *Bede*, who had been bred therein, and had all possible esteem for those Institutions, complains of the number and abuse of those Societies, and of the prevalence of the Monastick Humour, in such Terms as would doubtless have expos'd him to the censures of want of Devotion, and taste of the Seraphick Joys of Solitude and Contemplation, or it may be to the reproach of a Scoffer or a Heretick, had he happen'd to live in the present Age; or had had the Adversary of the late Learned Bishop of *Worcester* to deal with.

For in the Year 731 *Bede* thus speaks of this Affair; *Peace being established in the Kingdom of Northumberland, both the Nobility and the Common People laying aside the exercise of their Arms, betook themselves to Monasteries, and perswaded their Children to accept the Ecclesiastick Tonsure, and retire thither too (a). But whither this will tend time must shew (b).* And a little time so confirm'd the truth of that, which there was but too much reason to fear, that in his Epistle to *Egbert*, Bishop of *York*, wrote about the Year 735, this Holy Monk speaking of the multitudes who ran into Monasteries, thus expresses himself; *For thirty Years past our Country hath been insatuated with this mad error (c).* And in terms very passionate and full of concern, recommends the lessening the number of Monasteries, and increasing the number of Bishops and Secular Clergy, to preach God's Holy Word in Country Towns and Villages (d).

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(a) Bedæ
Eccles. Hist. 5.
cap. 24.
(b) Ibid.

(c) Bed. Epist.
ad Egbert.
pag. 261.

(d) Ejusdem
pag. 255.

For, saith he, there are many Villages in the woody and mountainous parts, which for many Years never saw the Face of a Bishop, and have none to instruct them in the common Principles of Religion or Morality,

(a) *Ejusdem*,
pag. 256.

(b) *Ejusdem*,
pag. 255.

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(c) *Bed. Epist.*
ad Egbert.
pag. 259.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.*

lity, and yet there is no place but what pays Tribute to their Bishop (a). And in particular, he desires of that Bishop, that his Clergy should take care to teach the People the Apostle's Creed, and Lord's Prayer in the *English* Tongue, and says, That for that end he himself had translated them into *English*, and given Copies thereof into the hands of several of the Clergy (b).

SECT. X. But, to perfect this great Work, he tells Egbert, that he thought nothing so likely as to increase the number of Bishops, and advises, that for that end this Prelate, with the Advice of *Ceolwulf*, King of *Northumberland*, and his Council, should erect several new Bishopricks; and that, in order thereunto, they should take several of the Monasteries, and in them erect the new Sees (c); and that, by this means, *York*, according to the ancient Platform of *Gregory the Great*, might be erected into a Metropolitcal See (d); and, if need require, he directs, they should take the Lands belonging to other Monasteries: Thus, saith he, *those Houses*, of which we all know there are many unworthy the Name of Monasteries, from serving the ends of Vanity and Luxury, may be brought to assist and bear a part in the burthen of the Episcopal Office (e).

And the better to engage Egbert in this Work, he adds, *There are many and very great Foundations of this kind, which, as is commonly said, are neither profitable to God nor Men; for in them Men are neither trained to live regularly, as Monks, for the Honour of God, nor brought up to Arms to defend their Country. And to take such Places and convert to Bishops Sees, is so far from being a fault, that it is a great instance of Wisdom and Vertue; for how can it be unjust, for some Princes to imploy the mistaken Charities of others to better Purposes (f): But if it be a fault, it is just such a fault, as it is for a wise Judge to reverse a wrong Judgment, or a good Clerk to correct the Errors of a bad Scribe.*

And to press this Obligation still more closely upon that Prelate, *Bede* tells Egbert, it was his Duty, together with the King, to make such Regulations of these Societies, as might be most for the honour of God and good of their Country, lest by the encrease of these Societies, the force of the Kingdom should be so weakened, that there should not be sufficient strength to secure it from the invasion of Enemies.

mies (a). And which is still very observable, through the whole Scheme, though some Monasteries were to be dissolved, others to be converted to Episcopal Sees, several new Bishopricks to be erected, others to be divided: *Bede* sends this Prelate no farther than to the King and his Council (b), and speaks of their Conduct therein, in such a manner as plainly shews, he knew of no necessity of calling in a Foreign Power to their Aid.

(a) *Ejusdem*,
pag. 260.

(b) *Ejusdem*,
pag. 259.

SECT. XI. But because in a little compass of time, we hear of about nine or ten of the *English* Kings going to *Rome*, or retiring, and taking the habit of Monks at home: And the Princesses which took the same course, are more numerous; so that it has been observed by a very judicious Antiquary, that in the compass of two hundred and twenty Years about thirty of the *English* Saxon Kings and Queens retired from the World (c).

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(c) *Præfat.*
ad Monast.
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And this has been magnified, as the wonderful effects of the Religion and Holiness the Church of *Rome* had taught the *English*; and has made a mighty subject for the Legendary Writers, and furnished the Advocates of that Church with very popular Arguments.

And the *Benedictines*, as the earliest Order now prevailing in the Western Nations, are very passionate in their Claim, to the merit of these extraordinary Examples of Holiness and Devotion; and yet, it may be, neither that Order, or the Church of *Rome*, will have any great reason to value themselves upon this ground, if we compare what *Bede* saith of the Monastery of *St. Martin's* at *Withern*, founded in honour of that Saint, by *St. Ninian*, the first Converter of the *Southern Picts*, (d) with the undeniable grounds we have to believe, that the Monastery of *Hy*, erected by *Columba*, the Converter of the *Northern Picts*, followed the Institution of *St. Martin* (e); and that all the North and Midland parts of *England*, who received their Conversion from the *Irish Scots*, who had been bred in that Monastery, universally followed the same Order and Institution, (f) and that these Foundations were generally established long before *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*, introduced the Order of *St. Bennet*, there will appear little ground for the pretensions of the *Benedictines*.

(d) *Bed. Eccles.*
Hist. Lib. 3.
cap. 4.

(e) *Bp. Worc.*
Hist. Account
Ch. Governm.
Chap. 7. Sect. 5

(f) *Ibid.*

And if we add to this, that these Foundations, and the Clergy bred there, and the *English* converted by

them, for near fourscour Years after the coming of *Austin*, held no Communion with the Church of Rome, or those *English* who had received their Conversion from thence; but, on the contrary, opposed the Rites and Usages of that Church; and that many of the forefaid great Examples of Retirement were at the head of the Opposers, and particularly *Hilda*, Abbess of *Streanshal*, and Neece to *Egwin*, King of *Northumberland*; and whose Piety and Conduct are so magnified by *Bede*, was present at the Synod of *Streanshal*, as an Assistant and Patron of those who opposed the Rites of the *Romish* Church, it will exceedingly lessen the Glory the late Writers of that Communion pretend to derive from these Examples.

And for the Examples of this kind, after the Year 680, about which time the *English* began generally to receive the Rites of the *Romish* Church, *Bede*, who was then in being, and lived above fifty Years after, gives us an account that seems much better fitted to mortifie, rather than brighten the Merits of any Party.

There are some Men, saith he, who under pretence of building Monasteries, buy Lands from their Kings, which become their Inheritances, and having obtained exemptions thereof from all secular Services, here they more quietly enjoy their Lusts: These being married Persons sometimes keep Company with their Wives, sometimes inspect the Affairs of their Monks: As on the other hand, their Wives take their turns, sometimes their Husbands and their Children, and sometimes the Nuns, are the subject of their Care. This Mischief has been growing upon us this thirty Years, and so prevails, that there is scarce a Governour of a Province, that during his Government does not obtain such a Monastery for himself, and the like for his Wife. (a)

(a) *Bed. Epist. ad Egbert. pag. 260, 261.*

(b) *Ibid.*

And so many were the Instances of this kind, that the same Author adds, *Innumeri sint inventi qui se Abbates pariter, & præfectos, sive ministros, & famulos regis appellant.* They are very numerous who at once pretend to be Abbots and Governours of Provinces (b). And in another place he makes the Corruption still more general, and saith, That notwithstanding the multitude of Monasteries, there were not places fit for the Education of the young Nobility, or for Men that were tired of the World to retire to; but those that design to spend their Youth in Chastity, are forced to go abroad for Education, to the prejudice of their Coun-

Country, which wants their Service: And that those educated therein being under no Vows of Chastity, run into such excesses, that they debauch the very Women who have vowed Chastity to God (a). Nor is there any ground to believe, that the Corruptions of these Societies were ever reformed, till they were involved in the common Calamities of the Nation; for after the Death of Bede, and not long before the Depredations of the Danes, in the Epistles of Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, to Ethelbald King of the Mercians, and Cuthbert Archbishop of Canterbury, that Prelate not only takes notice of a prevailing Debauchery in the English Nation in general, but gives a great share thereof to the Religious; and not only saith, that the Nuns were commonly debauch'd by the Nobility, but adds, that the Nuns, by the luxury and wantonness of their Attire and Behaviour, invited their own Shame; and made use of Arts to prepare the way to their own dishonour (b). And the truth of this Charge was then so well known, that the reforming of these horrible Corruptions, seems to be one of the chief reasons for convening the Council of Clovishoe, which met in the Year 747.

(a) Ibid.

(b) Council.
Tom. 6. Lab.
Col. 1573.

SECT. XII. These that I have mention'd are but some few of the many severe Reflections made by Bede and Boniface, on some of the Monasticks and Monasteries of this Age, which I have inserted here, not to cast a reproach on those Institutions in general, for doubtless there were some of them which answered the primitive end of such Foundations. And the Piety and Learning of Bede, the Holy Man from whom we have this Account, and who was educated and spent his whole Life in these Societies, will be reason enough to satisfy every considering Man, that some of them were very great and useful Schools of Learning and Vertue; and indeed, the only Nurseries of Learning the English Nation was acquainted with, and which is more, those celebrated Foundations which are at this Day both an Honour and a Blessing to the English Nation, took their Pattern hence, and had their beginning in this or the following Age, and probably in some of the 'foresaid Collegiate Bodies.

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But I have inserted these Reflections, partly to shew how fatally Men mistake, who pretend to Zeal and Holiness out of the ways of God, and partly, because they

they not only afford us a prospect of the Age, but give great Light into those which followed. Here we see, how it came to pass, that the Monasteries were generally possessed by married Men, when the Controversy about the marriage of the Clergy broke forth. Here we see, that the Parochial Clergy were yet unsettled, and are furnished with the reason why those Institutions went on so slowly: It may be here too we have a Key to the Retirement of so many *English* Princes.

(a) *Valesii rerum Francicar. Tom. 3. pag. 498.*

Here we see, how Monasteries became Hereditary, and the Scheme laid for the increasing the number of the Northern Bishopricks, does in the same view shew us the Bishop of *York*, in a private station, at the time of writing the 'foresaid Epistle, and the ground upon which that Prelate was afterwards advanced to the state of a Metropolitan. And one who looks backward, and sees what proof the *English* had given of their Courage, in the Conquest of the *Britons*; and what a Figure the *Saxons* abroad did at this time make, in their Wars with the *Franks* (a); what mighty Reputation for their Arms, the *Cimbrians*, their Ancestors, possess in their long Wars with the *Romans*, and yet what a poor defence the *English* made against the *Danes*, which about this time began their Depredations upon *England*, would almost be persuaded to think, that *Bede* had prophesied, rather than spoke his Fears of the Dangers which threatned the State, from the fond Humour which led such numbers of the Nobility and People, to bury themselves in Monasteries.

(b) *Eutropii rerum Roman. Lib. 22. p. 317.*

Nor was the danger to the State, from these Institutions, a thought peculiar to the *English* Nation, but it seems very probable, that this was the chief ground of that unhumane treatment the Monks and Nuns met with under *Constantine Copronimus* the Emperor, in the later end of this Century; for he not only required the Monks and Nuns to marry, but, as *Eutropius* saith (b), put out the Eyes, and then banished several of those who refused it.

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SECT. XIII. The 'foresaid Epistle of *Bede* was wrote thirty Years after the Death of *Alcfred*, King of *Northumberland*, who died in the Year 705, and therefore must needs be wrote the later end of the last, or the beginning of this Year, in which *Bede* died; and indeed it appears in the beginning of this Epistle, that he was languishing under

under the Astmatick Distemper, of which he died when he wrote this Epistle (a); and therefore the Learned Mr. *Wharton*, in his Notes on this Epistle, well calls it his *Cygnea Cantio*, or the last Performance of that Holy Man.

And indeed there is some thing in it, which looks like the last effort of a Holy and Good Man, whose Conversation was in Heaven. But the Writer of his Life rather thinks the translation of the Holy Gospel of St. *John* into *English* to be his last Work (b), a design that shews such a true sense of a just Zeal for God, and the good of Souls, as ought to make some attonement for the Follies and Superstition of the Age; a Service the Divine Goodness seems to have owned, and abundantly repay'd, in the particular and distinguishing Mercies with which he put a period to the Life of that great and excellent Person.

For God vouchsafed to the Holy Man a Happiness that deserves, and ought to bound the noblest Ambition of good Men; and this was, to continue dictating to his Scholars, and doing something towards bettering an ignorant Age, till a very few Days before his Death. He was born in the Year 677, and died in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, and in the Year 736, after he had wrote more than all the Writers of the Age besides: And whether it was the Life and Spirit this Great Man gave to the *English* Nation, or the emulation betwixt the Schools planted by the *Scots*, and those erected by Archbishop *Theodore*, and the Controversy yet fresh in the *English* Churches; or to what other cause we ought to ascribe the Spirit of Learning, which at this time prevailed, it is not easy to determine. But to whatever Cause it is to be ascribed, it is evident, that the remains we have of the conclusion of the last, and the beginning of this Century, have a taste of Learning that is no where else to be met with in the *English* Writers before the *Norman* Conquest.

But the Writings of *Aldhelm*, Bishop of *Sherborn*; of *Ceolfred*, Abbot of *Farrow*, and Tutor to *Bede*; and those of *Egbert*, Bishop of *York*, and *Eddius*, and *Bede*, who all lived in the latter-end of the last, and the beginning of this Age, so exhausted the *Genius* of the *English* Nation, that except *Alcuinus* and *Clemens*, who were bred

(a) Bed. Epist.
ad Egbert.
pag. 252.

(b) Dunelm.
Ann. 735.
X. Scriptor.
Col. 8.
Usserii Annal.
XV. Scriptor.
pag. 152.

under *Egbert*, not long after *Bede*, and who did, in the later end of this, and the beginning of the next Age, make so great a Figure in *France*, we find nothing like it in the succeeding Ages, till the *Norman* Invasion brought the Spirit of this Age to Life again.

Till then our Historians are so few, and their Accounts so imperfect, not to say fabulous, that all the light we have into the later part of the eighth Century, the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh, is chiefly owing to the Historians of the twelfth and thirteenth Age, a light so remote from the Matters of Fact, so often clouded, and at best wavering and uncertain, that one cannot enter into this dark Story, but as *Moses* did the Cloud, with Fear and Confusion.

CHAP. XI.

Ab Anno 736 ad Annum 753.

SECT. I. **Y**ork made an Archbishop's See. Bishops ricks North of Humber subject to it. *Egbert* the first Archbishop. Difference about the time of that erection.

II. Erecting of that See ascribed by our Historians to a Pall from Rome. Sense of Pope Innocent the Third, and the latter Canonists, of the Vertue and Power thereof: Fond things said on that Subject. The ill use the Bishops of Rome made of the Pall.

III. The sense the ancient Church of Rome had of the Pall. The Character of an Archbishop not thought conferred thereby. Esteemed in the time of *Gregory* the Great, only an Honorary Badge.

IV. The original of this Usage from the Empire, made a Mark of Honour amongst Churchmen: Usually worn by the Grecian Bishops: First given by the Emperors: Given by the Bishops of Rome by the Emperor's leave. The Pall sent to *Egbert*, only as a Mark of esteem. York erected into an Archiepiscopal See, by the King, and Bishops of Northumberland.

V. Bishops of Metropolitcal Cities, have an Archiepiscopal Right from the Canons, without any Act of the Bishops

Bishops of Rome. Case of Egbert, Archbishop of York. Sense of the French Bishops, and Bishop of Rome of the Pall. The Metropolitcal Power older than the use of the Pall in the Church.

VI. *Church of England not subject to that of Rome: Asserts its own freedom: This occasioned by a Council of Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz.*

VII. *Metropolitcal Power invaded by Boniface, contrary to the Canons of the universal Church: Resented and opposed by the French Bishops: Mischief thereof to the Western Churches: First Legantine Council owing to the Ambition of Charles Martel.*

VIII. *Zeal of Boniface for the Authority of the Bishops of Rome: Occasions calling the Council of Cloveshoe.*

IX. *Proceedings of the Council of Cloveshoe: Canons thereof oppose those of Boniface: Define the Unity of the Church, contrary to Boniface, and the sense of the Romish Church: Asserts the Power of Provincial Synods final.*

X. *Grounds of this Proceeding enquired into, wherein the occasion of calling the Council of Sardice.*

XI. *Difference betwixt the Eastern and Western Bishops therein: Canons in favour of the Bishops of Rome, and their pretended Right to Appeals.*

XII. *The same considered: Appeals not founded therein.*

XIII. *The difference betwixt Rehearing and an Appeal. This Council consistent with the Council of Nice.*

XIV. *Sardice not a General Council: Rejected by the Greek Church. True ground of the late Doctrine of Appeals.*

XV. *Appeals to Rome not allowed by the Churches of England, in the beginning of the Twelfth Century.*

XVI. *This Council of Cloveshoe appoints the Festivals of Gregory and Austin: That the Creed and Lord's Prayer should be learned in the English Tongue.*

XVII. *Monseur Du Pin's Judgment of this Council: The Grounds thereof: A Copy of it sent to Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz. Boniface is murdered.*

SECT. I. **F**rom the Union of the English Churches under Theodore, till about this time, all that part of Britain which was possessed by the English, had

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had

had been one Province, and had no other Metropolitans but the Archbishops of *Canterbury*: And those Prelates, besides the Concessions of the *English* Princes, recognized by the Bishops of *Rome*, by an Usage of above fifty Years continuance, begun now to have Prescription on their sides: Yet about this time that Province of *Canterbury* was divided, and a new Metropolitan set up at *York*, and all the Bishopricks within the Kingdom of *Northumberland* laid into this new Province.

Egbert, a descendant from the Royal Family of *Northumberland*, and no less considerable for his Learning and personal Merit, succeeded *Wilfrid* the Second in the See of *York*, in the Year 735. And upon this ground our Historians generally place this forefaid Change the same Year; and generally run away with an Opinion, that *Egbert* receiving a Pall from *Gregory* the Third, Bishop of *Rome*, he was, by vertue of that Pall, constituted Metropolitan in the Year 735. But it appears by the Epistle of *Bede* to this Prelate, that *York* was not erected into an Archbishoprick when that Epistle was wrote, and it is manifest, that that Epistle was wrote thirty Years after the Death of King *Alfred*, who died in the Year 705, and bears date the Nones of *November*, the third Year of the Indiction, which falls in the Year 735.

And which is more, it seems probable, by several Expressions in that Epistle, that the Change was not yet in agitation, and that it should be set a foot, and by a Pall from *Rome*, established betwixt the Nones of *November* and the end of the Year, seems utterly impossible; for which reasons, the erecting of the Archiepiscopal See of *York* has its place in this Year, and not in the preceeding. And the ground of this Change, commonly assigned by our Historians, seems as little agreeable to truth, as the circumstances of this Story.

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SECT. II. For our Historians, to whom we owe the Account of this Affair, did, for the most part of them, live after the Usurpations of the Bishops of *Rome* had gained much upon the Western Church; and therefore sometimes speak of the Transactions of this, according to the Maxims and Rules of Discipline, which prevailed in the Ages wherein they lived; and commonly ascribe raising *York* to the Dignity of an Archiepiscopal See, to the Pall which *Egbert* received from *Gregory* the Third, Bishop

Bishop of *Rome* : And because this Error usually passes upon the World, it may not be amiss to enquire into the grounds of that Opinion.

Thus much is evident, that in the Decretals collected, or at least published by the appointment of Pope Gregory the Ninth, in the beginning of the Twelfth Century, the World is abundantly furnished with Accounts of the nature, vertue, necessity of the Pall, and of the time, manner, and circumstances of using of it; where it is decreed, that an Archbishop, till he had received his Pall from the Bishop of *Rome*, could not call a Council, bless the Chrism, consecrate Churches, ordain a Clerk, or consecrate a Bishop (a); and that before any Archbishop received his Pall, he should swear Fidelity to the Bishop of *Rome* (b).

(a) Decretal.
Lib. 1. Tit. 6.
cap. 28.

(b) Decretal.
Lib. 1. Tit. 6.
cap. 4.

But when the usurpation of that Court was come to its full growth under Pope *Innocent* the Third, that Prelate, in the Council of *Lateran*, Anno 1215, attempted to impose this Usage on the universal Church, and in particular on the Eastern Patriarchs; and by a Canon from thence transcribed into the Decretals, he decreed the Pall to be a mark and ensign of the plenitude of Apostolick Power; and that neither the Function, or so much as the Title of Archbishop were to be assumed without it (c); and this not only in case of a private Bishop, raised to the state of an Archbishop, but in cases of postulation, where an Archbishop was removed from one Archbishoprick to another (d).

(c) Decretal.
Lib. 1. Tit. 8.
cap. 3.

(d) Decretal.
Lib. 1. Tit. 9.
cap. 4.

And yet, whilst it was required, that on the translation of an Archbishop, he should not carry his Pall away with him, but demand a new one, by another Canon it was determined, that his Successor should make no use of the Pall he left behind; and by another, that every Archbishop should be buried in his Pall. By these ways the Church of *Rome* did, in time, raise a mighty Revenue: And that Court was so careful to make the best use of the Advantages they had gained, by the Opinion they had thus industriously spread, that from the Reign of *Innocent* the Third downward, all our Histories are very full of the Oppressions and most horrible Abuses and Exactions, which were the consequences of these Doctrines.

These bold insults (to say no worse) on the Rights and Authority of the whole Catholick Church, have given

occasion to some to ascribe the raising of *York* to the state of a Metropolis, to the Pall that *Egbert* received from *Rome*.

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(a) Decret.
Part I.
Distinct. 100.
cap. 1.

(b) Du Pin's
Eccles. Hist.
Cent. 6. pag. 66.

(c) Decret.
Part I.
Distinct. 100.
cap. 2.

SECT. III. But if we look a little backwarder into the upper part of the Law received by the Church of *Rome*, it will appear, that the ancient Sentiments that Church had of this Affair, were very different from those taught by the Decretals. There is a Decree ascribed to *Pelagius* the Second, wherein the Metropolitans, subject to the See of *Rome*, are required to send their Professions, and demand their Palls within three Months after their Consecration (a). But *Monsieur du Pin* makes no mention of this Decretal, amongst the genuine Works of that Prelate; and allows the Antiquity only of such of the Decretals ascribed to him, as are inserted in the fifth Tome of *Labbe's* Collection of the Councils (b), amongst which this Decretal is not to be found.

Was there no other reason, this is ground enough to give this Work a place amongst the Forgeries of the latter Ages. But *Gregory the Great*, who was a Deacon under *Pelagius* the Second, and by whom several of the Epistles ascribed to *Pelagius* are thought to be written, in his Epistle to *Brunichild*, a Queen of the *Franks*, inserted in the Collection of *Gratian*, immediately after the fore-said Decretal ascribed to *Pelagius* (c), saith, that the ancient Usage of the Church of *Rome*, had been to grant the Pall to none but Persons of great Merit, and to them only upon their earnest Sollicitation and Intreaty, which shews, there was no such Decree as that ascribed to *Pelagius*; for nothing could be more contradictory, than to say, that the Custom was never to yield that favour but to great Merit and Sollicitation, if every Metropolitan was obliged to come and demand it, and could not discharge his Duty without it.

On the other hand it is evident from that Epistle, that in the time of *Gregory*, the giving of the Pall was esteem'd at *Rome* no more than an honorary recognition of the Title and Merit of the Person on whom it was bestowed; but it was never pretended, or so much as thought, that this Badge conferred the Character of Archbishop; or that it raised a private Bishop to the Dignity of a Metropolitan; no, this was a direct contradiction both to the Doctrine and Canons of the Catholick Church, and would

would have been adjudged Heresy, had an Opinion of of this kind been broached in those Days; at least it could not have passed uncensured.

SECT. IV. This Usage was originally derived from the Empire; and the Pall, a badge of Honour, first given by the Emperors to Philosophers, and Men of Learning, as a habit to distinguish those who had made the greatest proficiency in Arts and Sciences; and in effect, no more than the Robes and distinction of habit, which, as Rewards of Learning and Industry, are customarily given to the Professors of Divinity, Law, and Arts. And under this notion, *Tertullian* speaks of it in his Book *de Pallio* (a); and we hear of several of the Philosophers, who, after their Conversion, continued the use of the Pall.

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(a) *Tertullian de Pallio*, pag. 624. Ed. Basil. 1528.

From this Usage in the Schools of Philosophers, it was derived into the Church, and by the Emperors made a Mark of Honour and Distinction amongst Churchmen; and therefore *Isidore*, an Archbishop of Spain, who was cotemporary with *Gregory the Great*, defines the Pall, *Amiculum quod sacerdos humeris gestat ex lana, non ex lino contextum* (b), a little Cloak or short Garment made of Wool, and not of Linen, worn by the Priest; and saith, that not only Metropolitans, but Bishops of Greece, usually wore this Garment. And the last Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the Year 870, confirms this his assertion: But at the first introducing of it into the Church it was bestowed sparingly, and given chiefly as a Mark of Distinction betwixt a Metropolitan and a private Bishop.

(b) *Richerii Hist. Concil. Lib. I. p. 721.*

Thus when the Emperor *Valentinian* did, in the Year 432, raise the Church of *Ravenna* to the state of an Archbishoprick, he granted *John*, the Archbishop thereof, the use of the Pall (c). And when *Anthimus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, was deposed, he is said to come and deliver up his Pall to the Emperor (d). And *Eutropius* saith the same thing of *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, who receded from his Bishoprick in the Controversy about the Worship of Images, that having laid down that Trust, he came to the Emperor *Leo* and deposited his Pall (e).

(c) *Baron. Annal. An. 432.*

(d) *Richerii Hist. Concil. Lib. I. p. 723.*

(e) *Eutropii Hist. Roman. Lib. 21. p. 296.*

And when *Anastasius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, was at *Rome*, *Gregory the Great* did himself Petition the Emperor

Mau-

(a) Richerii
Hist. Concil.
Lib. 1. p. 723.

Mauritius, to grant to *Anastasius* the use of the Pall (a). From this Usage the Bishops of *Rome* took their Pattern; and upon the declining of the Empire assumed the liberty to give this Mark of Honour and Distinction; but it was still with submission to the Emperor. And therefore, when *Brunichild*, a Queen of the *Franks*, desired a Pall of *Gregory the Great* for *Syagrius* Bishop of *Autun*, before he would grant it, he sent his Deacon to *Constantinople*, to ask the Emperor's leave; and when he sent the Pall, he told that Princess it was the Emperor's pleasure, that a Pall should be granted, and therefore he had sent one (b).

(b) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 7.
Epist. 5.

(c) Concil.
Tom. 6. Lab.
Col. 1527.

(d) Concil.
Tom. 6. Lab.
Col. 1503.

How early the Bishops of *Rome* took up this Usage does not appear, but the earliest Account that can be relied on, is from the Epistles of *Gregory the Great*, whose Account thereof, compared with the original of this Usage, puts it beyond all doubt, that in *Gregory's* Time, the giving of the Pall was intended only as a Mark of Honour and Respect. And if we look no further than the Proofs we have in this Age, from the Form made use of by Pope *Zachary*, in erecting *Mentz* into an Archbishoprick (c); and what that Pope saith in his Epistle to *Boniface*, the new Archbishop thereof, of the three other Palls he had desired for three Persons who had before been made Archbishops (d), it will be evident, that the importance and operation of this Rite were yet thought the same as in *Gregory's* Days; and that the Pall sent to *Egbert*, Archbishop of *York*, was not to make that Prelate an Archbishop, or erect an Archbishoprick, but was intended as an Honorary Recognition of the Character that Prelate was before possessed of, and of the Dignity the See of *York* was by the King and Church of *Northumberland* advanced unto.

Anno

737.

(e) Richerii
Hist. Concil.
Lib. 1. p. 722.

(f) P. de Marc.
Concord. Sacer.
& Imperii
Tom. 1. Lib. 2.
cap. 8. pag. 77.

SECT. V. And if *Baronius* be not willing to allow the Authority of a King of *England*, any more than that of the Emperor in the 'foresaid Instance of *Ravenna*, a Great Man of the same Communion says, that no one, unless very ignorant of History, can deny, that the Emperors made many Metropolies (e), that is, erected private Sees to the state of Archbishopricks. And *Balsamon*, who was never thought an Enemy to the Bishops of *Rome*, places the erecting of Bishopricks and Archbishopricks amongst the common and undoubted Rights of Princes (f); and

and indeed, all that will allow what one would think nobody could deny, *viz.* that Sovereign Princes and National Churches have power to execute the Canons of the universal Church within themselves, and consider the original of the Metropolitcal Power, and the Canons that relate to it; that those Canons require, that all the Bishops of the inferior Cities should own the Authority of the Bishops of the chief Cities of their respective Provinces, and found the government of the Church by Metropolitans, on the subordination and superiority of Cities; and that some Churches of *Africa* only excepted, where the Authority of Metropolitan is not fixed, but follows the seniority of Consecration (a), this Discipline was universally received by the ancient Church, they must conclude, that the Honour of a Metropolis, and the Character of an Archbishop, do not depend on any act or authority of the Bishops of *Rome*: And even in *Africa* it self, which affords the only Exception to this General Rule, the Church of *Carthage* owed its Primacy to the Dignity of that City.

(a) Du Pin
de Antiqua
Eccl. Disciplin.
pag. 27.

But, on the contrary, that Princes have the same Right to confer those Honours, as to improve and build in waste Countries, and give precedence to the Cities which they build. And the ninth Canon of the Council of *Hertford*, in which it is determined, that new Bishopricks should be erected in *England*, according as Christianity prevail'd therein, shews plainly, the sense of the *English* Churches, as to the competence of its own Authority, with the consent of their Princes, to divide Bishopricks, and erect new ones as occasion served.

This was the case of our new Metropolitan, he had all the Right to his Character the Authority of the Catholick Church could give him, before he received his Pall from *Rome*: And, were this a place for it, it would easily be made appear, that all the succeeding Archbishops of *England*, for near four hundred Years after, and even *Lanfranc*, *Anselm*, and *Radulphus* in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, acted upon this belief, and perform'd all the Functions of the Archiepiscopal Office before they receiv'd their Palls. And *Laurentius* and *Mellitus*, before this time, and many after, who never had any Pall, yet were doubtless as truly Archbishops as those

those who had: And *Paulinus*, who had a Pall, lived and died a private Bishop.

(a) De Marca
Concord. Sacer.
& Imper.
Lib. 6. cap. 7.

Nor was this the case of *England* only, but there were many Metropolitans in *France*, whose Sees, till the time of Pope *Zachary* in the midst of the Eighth Century, had never had a Pall (a), and yet the Bishops thereof were as truly Metropolitans before, as they were afterwards: And when they were brought to receive Palls from the Bishops of *Rome*, they were so far from believing they received any new Power from them, that *Hickman*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, told Pope *Nicholas*, that his Pall conferred no Authority upon him, but what he was before possessed of from the Canons of the Catholic Church (b). And this was so generally believed in *France*, that the same Author saith, the Metropolitans of *France*, did, from the time of their Consecration, without expecting Palls, immediately enter upon their Trusts (c).

(b) Ibid.

(c) De Marca
Concord. Sacer.
& Imper.
Lib. 6. cap. 6.
sect. 1.

And it is manifest, that the Bishops of *Rome* had, long after this, the same thoughts of the Pall that all the rest of Christendom had; for Pope *Adrian*, who came to the Papacy about the Year 772, in his Epistle to *Berthorius*, Archbishop of *Vienne* in *France*, tells that Prelate, A

Nec propterea ulla Metro-
polis præjudicium patitur,
si alicui Suffraganeorum, aut
nos, aut Predecessor noster ro-
gantibus piis Francorum Du-
cibus pallium largiti sumus.
Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Labb.
Coll. 1888.

(d) *Angliæ Sacr.* Part 1.
pag. 461.

Honorem Pallii Merciorum
Episcopo Dominus Adrianus
Apostolicus dixerit.

(e) Ibid.

Metropolis suffers no prejudice by it, if I, or my Predecessor, have, at the desire of the Dukes of *France*, granted a Pall to any Suffragan Bishop. And when the *English* Bishops, in an Epistle to Pope *Leo* (d), the immediate Successor of this *Adrian*, blamed *Adrian* for confirming the Archbishoprick erected at *Lichfield*: Pope *Leo* answered, That *Adrian* had been no further concerned, than that he had sent a Pall to the Bishop of the *Mercians* (e); and this at the Instance of King *Offa*, and the Bishops, and Nobility of *England*.

And was there no other Instance, that one proof from the Epistle of Pope *Adrian*, to the Archbishop of *Vienne*, is enough to demonstrate, that the Court of *Rome* was yet unacquainted with the Doctrine of Pope *Innocent* the Third, and the later Canonists; and did not yet believe, that the giving of the Pall made an Archbishop, or raised a private See to the State of an Archbishoprick. In short, it seems very manifest, that the government of the

the Church by Archbishops, or Metropolitans, was introduced, or at least settled in the Church by the Council of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, and generally received by the whole Christian Church, before the use of the Pall was introduced into the Church; and after it was introduced, the *Æthiopick*, *Persian*, and *Indian*, and some part of the *Greek* Church, never received it to this Day.

But after all that has been said on that subject, notwithstanding the Palls received by *Egbert*, and some of his Successors, and the Title of Archbishop, commonly given by our Historians, to his Successors in the See of *York*, there is great reason to believe, that that Archbishoprick was never perfectly settled till after the *Norman* Conquest.

SECT. VI. I have not led the Reader out of the way, in a long digression about the Pall, for the sake of a Ceremony a Man may be ignorant of without a Fault, but to give a just Idea of the present state of the *English* Church, by shewing, that the giving and receiving of the Pall was yet thought consistent with the Authority of a free and independent Church; and that though the *English* Nation was at this time infinitely fond of the Rites and Usages of the *Roman* Church, yet it did not own any subjection thereunto, but what was founded on Gratitude and Kindness, and consistent with the Power the Canons of the universal Church allowed to every National Church; and a little time produced an occasion to shew the sense of the *English* Church more fully on this subject.

For *Nothelmus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Successor to *Tatwin*, dying in *November* 740, or as others 741, *Cuthbert*, Bishop of *Hereford*, succeeded. This Prelate having had a long Friendship with *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, did not, long after his accession to that Chair, write to *Boniface*; who, in return, besides some general Advices, sent him a Copy of a Council he had lately held in *Germany* (a), by the especial Directions and appointment of *Zachary*, Bishop of *Rome*, and under the Character of his Legate: In which Council, consisting of the Bishops of the *Franks*, and *Gauls*, not only a Confession of the Catholick Faith was agreed upon, but also an Union and Subjection to the *Roman* Church, and that to the end of their Lives they would be subject to *St. Peter* and his Vicar; that

(b) (c)

Ab Anno 740
ad Annum
747.(b) (c)
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 237.(b) (c)
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 237.(b) (c)
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 237.(b) (c)
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 237.(b) (c)
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 237.

(a) Ibid.

that their Metropolitans should seek their Palls from that See, and canonically obey the commands of St. Peter (a).

that with the
council in
745

And towards the end of this Epistle he further tells Cuthbert, it was also in this Council agreed, that such Discords as could not be redressed by Bishops in their Diocesan Synods, should be brought to the Council of the Metropolitan. But this Council did not determine, that Causes might be removed from the Synod of Metropolitans to that of the Bishop of Rome; but, on the contrary, by lodging the Procefs in Ecclesiastical Causes in the hands of the Metropolitan and his Synod, plainly shew, they esteemed those Assemblies as the last resort in Causes Ecclesiastical, and their Sentences as final; and that they did not intend to give up the Rights of the Gallican Church; although in compliance with their Princes Carloman and Pepin, they agreed, to seek their Palls from Rome. And to do right to Boniface, when he comes to speak of Metropolitans applying themselves to the Bishops of Rome, in cases of difficulty, he changes his stile, and does not speak of that practice as the sense of the Council, but as an account of his own private Sentiments and Conduct, and the effect of a particular personal Obligation. But in case, saith he, there be any disorder which by this means I cannot remedy, then, saith he, as I am particularly bound by my Oath to do, I refer to the Apostolick See, and the Judgment of St. Peter; and thus, saith he, if I am not mistaken, is the regular course of Church Discipline, for the Bishop, in case of Difficulties he cannot overcome by his proper Authority, to ask the assistance of his Metropolitan, and the Metropolitan, if need require, to apply himself to the Bishop of Rome (b).

(b) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 238.

Anno
746.

SECT. VII. These Resolutions of Boniface, and the French and Gallick Bishops, were transmitted to Rome, where, saith Boniface, they were received by the Bishop and Clergy, with mighty Joy; and Zachary, then Bishop, returned his Thanks to the French and Gallick Bishops (c).

(c) Concil.
Britan. Vol. I.
pag. 238.

(d) De Marca.
Concord. Sacer.
& Imper.
Lib. 5. cap. 44.
sect. 6.

(e) Mezeray.
Charlemaign.
pag. 112.

These were Resolutions like the Legantine Council which gave them, being new, and before unknown to the whole Catholick Church; and so barefaced a violence to the Rights of the Gallican Church in particular, that not only Hincmar in the following Age (d), but the Writers of that Church to this Day (e) complain of it, as the first and most open Invasion of the

the Rights of their Metropolitans, and the Authority of the *Gallican* Church.

Nor did the *French* Prelates only resent the Invasion of the Right of their Metropolitans in this Instance, but so resisted the Legantine Power which occasioned it, that from the Death of *Boniface*, till ninety Years after, there was no Legate of the Apostolick See sent into *France* (a).

(a) *Concord. Sacerdot. & Imper. Lib. 5. cap. 4. sect. 17.*

It may be justly added, that this practice was a direct invasion of the Canons of the universal Church; for Christendom had never heard of Provincial, or National Councils convened by the Legantine Authority, till that *Englishman* led the way to it: A practice which in time broke the Authority of all the Western Churches, and subjugated them to that of *Rome*; and which, if one may be allowed to judge, seems to be chiefly owing to the Ambition of the *Carolovinian* Line.

The *Merovignian*, or first Race of *French* Kings, had been long declining, and, some Years before this, was reduced so low, that *Charles Martel* leaving the Title to them, possessed himself so intirely of the Royal Power, that at his Death, in the Year 741, he divided the Dominions of the *Franks* amongst his Sons, (b) as if it had been his own Inheritance; the greatest Shares he gave to *Carloman* and *Pipin*. These Princes resolved to possess the Names, as well as the Power of Kings; and the better to bring the *Franks* to bear the change, and bring *Zachary*, Bishop of *Rome*, to declare them, and the People absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, they made mighty Court to the See of *Rome*.

(b) *Mezeray. Anno 741. pag. 84.*

And the misunderstanding which was at this time betwixt the Emperors and the Bishops of *Rome*, and the continual dangers these Prelates were about this time exposed to by the Kings of the *Lombards*, made it necessary to them, as far as possible, to secure the Friendship and Interest of the *Franks*. The way thus prepared, *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, who had devoted himself intirely to the Interests of the See of *Rome*, was, upon the recommendation of the Popes, *Gregory* the Second and Third, taken into the particular care and favour of these two young Princes; and they, under colour of reforming the Clergy, encouraged *Boniface*, under the Character of Legate, to come into *France*, and, without

regard to the Metropolitcal Power, to convene Councils and preside in them.

And both sides found their Account in this new Friendship, for about the Year 750, *Zachary* set *Pipin's* Conscience right, and declared him and the *Franks* absolved from the Oath of Allegiance; and *Pipin* was elected, and possessed himself of the Throne and Title of King, and deposed *Childeric*; and *Boniface*, the Legate, sometime after, set the Crown upon his Head. And if *Pipin* and *Carloman* did not act upon these views, thus much is owned by *Zachary* himself, that the mighty Complement to the Holy Chair, made by the fore said Council under *Boniface*, was owing to the Interest and Address of *Pipin* and *Carloman* (a).

(a) Epist.
Zachar. Concil.
Tom. 6. Labb.
Col. 1546.

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(b) Bonifac.
Epist. P. de
Marca Concor.
Sacerdot. &c.
Lib. 5. cap. 43.
sect. 8.

(c) Mezeray.
Life Charlem.
pag. 113.

SECT. VIII. One who considers this Affair, together with the Character of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the mighty warmth with which he pursued the Interest of the *Roman* Grandure, and the relish and air with which he relates the Services done for that Church, and the mean and abject manner (b) with which he begged to be restored to the Legantine Power, voided by the Death of Pope *Zachary*, together with what the *French* Historian says of him, that upon all occasions he contrived things so, that all he did made still more and more for the Pope's Sovereign Power, and tended chiefly to that end (c), can conclude nothing else, but that his Address to *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had its beginning from a consideration of the same kind; and that he hoped, by his Friendship with that Prelate, to bring the *English* Church to follow the Example of the *French*, or, at least, to procure some Resolutions favourable to the See of *Rome*; and that it was upon this ground, that he took the freedom to tell him, that he thought it the duty of a Metropolitan, in difficult cases, to apply himself to the Bishop of *Rome*; and what an acceptable Service he had done, by bringing the *French* Church to own an Union and Subjection to the *Roman* Church.

And it seems probable, that it was this Epistle of *Boniface*, and the Corruptions in the *English* Church, he there complains of, that gave occasion to the convening the Council of *Cloveshoe* this Year; at least it appears, that several of the Canons of the Council held under

Boni-

Boniface, are transcribed into the Canons of *Cloveshoe*; and the particulars suggested by *Boniface*, in his Epistle to *Cuthbert*, are provided against in the Canons of this Council.

Malmesbury saith, that this Council was opened with the Letters of Pope *Zachary*, but it does not appear, what were the Contents, if any such were; but by the Archbishops dispatch of the Canons of this Council to *Boniface*, and not to *Zachary*, it seems most likely, that these were some of the Epistles of *Zachary* to *Boniface*; and most probably those congratulating the Union of the *French* Bishops to the See of *Rome* (a).

(c) Concil.
Tom. 6. Lab.
Col. 1522.

SECT. IX. But what ever occasioned the convening this Council, the Canons of it seem very well digested, and have a Spirit of Seriousness and Judgment, much superior to the Age. Those Canons which *Boniface* and his Synod had taken from the ancient Church, were received by this Council; but his new Opinions were treated in another manner, and confuted with great Temper and Judgment. *Boniface* told the Archbishop, according to the modern notion of Catholick Unity:

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“ We have agreed, in this our Synod, in
“ the Confession of the Catholick Faith,
“ and decreed, to continue in Unity and
“ Subjection to the Church of *Rome*, and
“ desire to be subject to *St. Peter* and his
“ Vicar, to the end of our Lives. And
“ that our Metropolitans should demand
“ their Palls from the See of *Rome*, and
“ endeavour to observe the Canons of
“ the Bishops thereof; that we may be
“ esteemed Members of that Church committed to
“ *St. Peter's* care. This, saith he, is what we have all agreed upon, and subscribed to, and having sent our Resolutions to *Rome*, they were there received by the Bishop and Clergy, with all the Marks of Satisfaction and Joy.

Decrevimus hac in nostri Synodali conventu, & confessi sumus fidem Catholicam, & unitatem & subjectionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ sine tenuis vitæ nostræ velle servare. Metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede querere, & per omnia præcepta Sancti Petri Canonice sequi desiderare, ut inter oves sibi commendatas numerentur, & istæ confessioni universi consensimus, & subscripsimus, & ad corpus Sancti Petri principis Apostolorum direximus, quod gratulando clerus Romanus, & Pontifex suscepit. Concil. Tom. 6. Labb. Col. 1544.

On the other hand, the Council of *Cloveshoe*, describing the Unity of the Church, as if they had intended purposely to shew the Mistake of those who assert the Unity of the Catholick Church to consist in an Unity with the Church of *Rome*, and submission to the Bishops thereof, in their second Canon concerning the

Ut pacis intima, & sincera caritatis devotio ubique inter eos perpetuo permaneat, atque ut una sit omnium concordia in omnibus viris Ecclesiastica religionis, in sermone, in opere, & iudicio sine cuiusquam adulatione personæ, utpote unius domini ministri, uniusque Ministerii conservi; ut licet sedibus sint divisi, per diversa loca, tamen mentibus conjuncti in uno Spiritu, Deo in Fide, & Spe, & Caritate deserviant, orantes diligenter pro sibi invicem, ut sui certaminis cursum fideliter unusquisque consummare posset. Concil. Tom. 6. Ed. Lab. Col. 1573.

(a) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 417.

the Unity of the Church, 'tis thus determined: "That sincere Love, "and Christian Unity and Affection ought to be amongst all the "Clergy, in Word, in Deed, and Judgment, (without flattery of any ones "Person) as the Servants of one Lord, "and Fellow-Labourers in the same Gospel; so that however separated by distance of place, they may, notwithstanding, be united in the same Judgment, and serve God in one Spirit, in the same Faith, "Hope, and Charity, daily praying for each other, "that every one may faithfully persevere to the end, in the discharge of his Holy Function.

And by a Provincial Constitution of *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about two hundred Years after this, the sense of the Church of *England* appears to be the same in this particular (a).

In these Instances it appears to be the constant sense of the *English* Church, that the Unity of the Catholick Church consists in the agreement of Christians in the same Faith, Hope, and Charity, and in mutual Prayers for the Happiness and Salvation of each other: Not a syllable of Union to the Church, or subjection to the Bishops of *Rome*; but, on the contrary, the words, *Sine cuiusquam adulatione*, look so like a Reflection on the rant of *Boniface*, in favour of the Bishops of *Rome*, that they seem capable of no other sense.

Nor is the sense of this Synod less plain, in declaring against the Sentiments of *Boniface*, in respect to the Authority of Provincial Synods; for whereas *Boniface* had asserted the regular course of Ecclesiastical Proceedings to be, to appeal from private Bishops, to the Metropolitan, and from the Metropolitan, in case of a great difficulty, to the Bishop of *Rome*. This Council, instead of carrying the Affairs of the *English* Church to a Foreign Bishop, in the twenty fifth Canon, decrees, that such Affairs as private Bishops could not determine in their respective Diocesses, should be brought to the Provincial Council, and be adjusted by the Archbishop and his Synod (b).

(b) Concil.
Tom. 6. Ed.
Lab. Col. 1580.

This

This Canon is taken from a Canon of the forefaid Council under *Boniface*, but with this difference, that what *Boniface* faith of the Bishop of *Rome* in the latter end of his Canon, and what he immediately subjoins of Appeals from Metropolitans to the Bishop of *Rome*, is fo purpofely omitted by the Council of *Cloveshoe*, which fhews plainly, that the intention of this Council was to check the new and ill-grounded Error of *Boniface*, and fettle the Discipline of the Church on the fame foot the Council of *Nice* had done before ; for by faying that Appeals might be made from the Bishop of a Diocefs to the Metropolitan and his Synod, without mentioning any other Perfon to whom an Appeal lay, they did in effect determine againft the Doctrine of *Boniface*, that there lay no Appeal from their Metropolitan and his Synod, to the Bishop of *Rome* ; but, on the contrary, that all difputes in Ecclefiaftical Affairs fhould be finally determined in the Province wherein they arife.

SECT. X. So plain a declaration of the fense of the *Engliſh* Church ſhould be enough, one would think, to ſhew how little this Age was acquainted with the mighty Pretences which have of late been founded on the *Sardique* Council ; for the Canons and Conduct of the *Engliſh* Church appear to be all of a piece, and all very crofs to the Doctrine of Appeals, which has been fo zealouſly contended for by the Advocates of the Papal Supremacy ; and yet, after all, one who looks into the Canons of that Council of *Sardice*, and the fense which both the Western and Eastern Churches had of that Aſſembly, cannot but be ſurprized at the aſſurance with which ſome Great Men found the Doctrine of Appeals on the Authority of that Council.

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But becauſe this Doctrine is directly oppoſite to the Doctrine and Practice of the *Engliſh* Church, to ſet both this Matter and the Conduct of the *Engliſh* Church, in their true Light, it will be requiſite to look back to the occaſion and circumſtances of the *Sardique* Council.

The *Arrian* Heresy having given a great deal of diſquiet to the Chriſtian Church, the Emperor, *Constantine the Great*, called a Council, which met at *Nice* in *Bithynia*, in the Year 328, where that Heresy was condemned, and *Arrius*, a Priest of *Alexandria*, the firſt broacher of it, was baniſhed : But, towards the latter end of his

(a) Socrat.
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 1. cap. 25.
pag. 60.

(b) Socrat.
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 1. cap. 26.

(c) Ejesdem,
cap. 27.

(d) Socrat.
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 1. cap. 37.
pag. 71.

(e) Socrat.
Eccles. Hist.
Lib. 2. cap. 3.
pag. 82.

(f) Ejesdem
cap. 11.
pag. 88.

Reign, that Prince was so possessed by a Priest who favoured *Arrius*, that the Sentiments of *Arrius* were mistaken, and that *Arrius* was ready to subscribe to the Council of *Nice*, that *Constantine* recalled *Arrius* (a), who having deceived that Prince with a Subscription to the *Nicean* Council, he sent him to *Alexandria* to be received into the Church again (b).

But *Athanasius*, then Archbishop of *Alexandria*, being sensible that *Arrius* had imposed upon the Emperor, and retained still the same erroneous Principles, refused to receive him into the Communion of the Church (c), and remonstrated to the Emperor the unfitness of receiving a Person who stood condemned by the Council of *Nice*. *Constantine* resented this Remonstrance, and caused *Athanasius* to come to *Constantinople*; during his stay there, the *Arrian* Faction suggested so many Falsities to the Emperor, that the Emperor banish'd *Athanasius* into *Gaul* (d); and the *Arrian* Party in the *East* taking the advantage of the disgrace that Prelate was under, condemned and deposed him from his Bishoprick, and placed *Gregory* in his Chair.

After some time the Emperor being made sensible of his Error, recalled *Athanasius*, and intended to restore him to his Bishoprick; but before this could be done, that Emperor died, and left the Empire divided amongst his three Sons, *Constantine*, *Constans*, and *Constantius*. However, the known resolution of *Constantine* had this good effect on his Son *Constantine* the Younger, that by his Authority *Athanasius* was restored to his Bishoprick; (e) but that young Prince being killed in Battel not long after, all the Eastern parts of the Empire fell into the hands of *Constantius*, as those of the West did to his Brother *Constans*,

Constantius being a favourer of the *Arrian* Faction, the Enemies of *Athanasius* quickly found ways to dispossess him a second time; and by a Military force drove him from *Alexandria*, and restored *Gregory* (f). Such too was the Fate of *Paul*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*; and some other of the Eastern Bishops who opposed the *Arrian* Heresy. Being driven from their Country, they went into *Italy*, and *Julius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, receiv'd them into Communion: And the commiseration due to Men who suffered for the Faith of Christ, together with

with their own Intreaties, prevailed upon the Emperor *Constans* to resolve to have the Cause of the exiled Bishops reheard in a General Council; and as he summoned the Bishops of the Western Empire himself, so by a Letter to him for that purpose, he prevailed upon his Brother to call the Bishops of the East; (a) and *Sardice* in *Illyricum*, as lying on the extremities of the Western Empire, and convenient to the East, was fixed upon as the place of Meeting, where the Prelates delegated from the East and Western Churches, met in the Year 347, to the number of about one hundred and Seventy (b).

(a) *Ejusdem*,
cap. 20.
pag. 101.

(b) *Beveregii*
Annot. Concil.
Sardicens. Syn-
odicon Tom.
2. pag. 199.

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(c) *Synodicon*
Tom. 2. p. 199.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Socrates*
Hist. Eccles.
Lib. 2. cap. 20.

SECT. XI. Before the Bishops of the East would enter into any Debate with those of the West, they required, that *Athanasius*, and *Paulus*, and such other Bishops as were come to attend the issue of this Assembly, should be put out of the Communion of the Western Bishops; and declared, that till this was done they would not so much as come into the same Church with the Western Bishops, (c); but the Western Bishops affirming, that *Athanasius* and *Paulus* had been unjustly Excommunicated, persisted in their resolution not to put them out of their Communion (d).

This made such a Breach, that without entring into any Business, the Eastern Bishops being Eighty in number, immediately retired from *Sardice* to *Philopopolis* in *Thracia*, where they held a distinct Council (e); and the Issue was what might reasonably be expected from such a beginning. The Western Bishops at *Sardice* being about ninety, not only confirmed what *Julius*, Bishop of *Rome*, had done in receiving *Athanasius* into Communion, but pronounced his Enemies should be deposed, the exiled Bishops restored, and condemned the Eastern Bishops for receding from *Sardice* (f).

And because the *Arrians* were at this time a very great and prevailing Party in the East, and upon every advantage treated the Orthodox Clergy with great Inhumanity; and what was now the Case of the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Constantinople*, might too soon be the Case of all such as had Courage and Integrity to bear up against the Errors of that Party; they resolve upon an Expedient which they thought most likely, both to justify their present Conduct, and provide the quickest Re-

Remedy for such as might suffer by the *Arrian* Faction; and also give Courage to those who opposed it, and express a just sense of the Zeal with which the present Bishop of *Rome*, *Julius*, had distinguished himself, in making head against that Pestilent Heresy.

The expedient they resolve upon is comprehended in the third, fourth, and fifth Canons of that Council. In the third Canon, *Hosius*, a *Spanish* Bishop, and President of the Council, makes this Proposition: That if any

Si quis autem Episcoporum in aliquo negotio condemnari visus fuerit, & existimet, se non malam, sed bonam causam habere, ut etiam rursus judicium renovetur; si vestra dilectioni videtur, Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus, & de iis qui judicaverant, scribatur Julio Romanorum Episcopo, ut per propinquos Provinciae Episcopos, si opus sit, judicium renovetur, & cognitores ipse praebeat, &c. Can. tertio Synodicon Edit. Beveridg. p. 485.

Bishop happen to be deposed, and thought his Cause to be good, that it might be reheard; and that if it so pleases this Assembly, let us do this Honour to the Memory of *St. Peter*, that by some of those Bishops who had the hearing of the Cause, it may be signified to *Julius* of *Rome*, that if there were need for it he may appoint some other Bishops neighbouring on the

Province, to join with the Bishops of the Province and rehear the Cause.

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SECT. XII. Whatever Inferences some Men may make from hence, it is very evident, that this Power of appointing a Review of Matters determined in Provincial Synods, was no other than what had been anciently and commonly practised by the Emperors; and indeed this very Council of *Sardice*, was called on purpose to review what had before been determined in the Synods of *Tyre*, *Antioch*, and *Constantinople*, against *Athanasius*; and this too by the Authority of the Emperors *Constans* and *Constantius* (a); and the Trust here put into the hands of the Bishops of *Rome*, was so far from being a peculiar Honour to those Prelates, that about the Year 341, which was about six Years before the Council of *Sardice*, the Council of *Antioch* granted a Power of Review to every Metropolitan (b); and in case of a Bishop deposed, if any Bishop of the Province dissented from it, the Metropolitan was empowered to call in Bishops from the neighbouring Provinces, and together with them, and the Bishops of his own Province, was to rehear the Cause.

(a) De Marca
Concord. Sacer.
& Imper.
Lib. 7. cap. 2.
sect. 8. p. 307.

(b) Synodicon
Beveregii.
cap. 14. Tom. 1.
pag. 444.

And yet this Council was so far from establishing the late Doctrine of Appeals, or invading the Discipline established in the Council of *Nice*, that in the very next Canon

Canon they pronounce, that the Sentences of every Provincial Synod ought to be final, where the Bishops are unanimous in their Judgment (a). But to return to the Council of *Sardice*.

(a) Ibid.
Can. 15.

Left the rashness of those by whom such Bishops should be deposed should, by filling up the Bishopricks, make the restitution of the Person deposed more difficult, in the following Canon it was decreed, That if the Bishop so deposed by the Bishops of the Province, should insist upon it as his Right to have his Cause reheard, that in that case his Bishoprick should not be filled up till the Bishop of *Rome* had given his Judgment in the Cause.

Can. 4. Si quis Episcopus iudicio Episcoporum qui sunt in vicinia depositus fuerit, & dicat rursus sibi responsionis negotium competere; non prius in Cathedram ejus alius substituatur, quam Romanus Episcopus causâ cognita sententiam tulerit.

It is well known what mighty stress is laid upon this Canon; but how bright and dazling soever this Trust may appear in some Mens Eyes, it is evident to every one who considers it well, that this is really no more than what the 'foresaid Council of *Antioch* puts into the hands of every Metropolitan; for by giving them Power to revise a Judgment against a deposed Bishop, they do in effect give them Power to suspend the filling up his Bishoprick till his Cause be reheard: And it is as plain, that this Power is included in this Trust, as it is reasonable to affirm, that a Bishop ought not to be deprived before his Cause be finally determined: So that the difference between these Canons of *Antioch* and *Sardice* lies only in this, that the one includes, and necessarily implies, what the other expresses in Terms.

And the case is much the same in the following Canon, wherein, because it may so fall out, that the Metropolitan and the Bishops, by whom the deposed Bishop was condemned, may be unanimous in their Sentence, and so not prevailed upon to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, to have the Cause reviewed, as they had reason to suspect would be the case of such Bishops as should be deposed by the *Arrians*. That the Innocent might not lose the benefit of this Expedient, they agreed in the fifth Canon, That such a Person should, upon his flight to *Rome*, and Personal complaint, have the same Privilege as in the former case; and that if the Bishop of *Rome* should

A a a

Can. 5. Sardicenis Concil. Synodicon. pag. 488.

Si quis Episcopus delatus fuerit, & congregati ejusmodi regionis Episcopi, eum gradu moverint, & veluti appellans confugerit ab beatissimum Romanum Episcopum, & velit eum audire, & justum esse existimaverit ejus rei examinationem renovari; illis Episcopis scribere dignabitur qui sunt propinqui Provinciae ut ipsi diligenter, & accurate singula perscrutentur, & ex veritatis persuasione de re sententiam ferant. Si quis autem postulet suum negotium rursus audiri, & ad suam supplicationem Romanorum Episcopo judicare visum fuerit, à proprio latere Presbiteros mittat: ut sit in potestate ipsius Episcopi (quod rectè habere probaverit, & statuerit oportere) eos mitti qui cum Episcopis sunt judicaturi, habentes auctoritatem ejus à quo missi sunt; & hoc ponendum est. Si autem ad rei cognitionem Episcopi etiam sententiam sufficere putaverit; faciet quod prudentissimo ejus consilio rectè habere videbitur.

should think fit, he might appoint some other Bishops, together with those by whom the Cause had been heard, to rehear the Cause; and, upon an exact and careful review thereof, give their Judgment therein: or, upon desire of the Bishop so deposed, the Bishop of *Rome*, instead of the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, might delegate some Presbyters of his own, who, together with the Bishops of the Province, by whom the Cause was primarily heard, might rehear the Cause,

All this difference betwixt the Trust here put into the hands of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the common Trust reposed by the Council of *Antioch* with every Metropolitan, lies only in this, that whereas these are limited in their Reviews, to the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, the Bishop of *Rome* is allowed, if he please, to send some Presbyters of his own, to join with the Bishops of the Province in the Review; but still it is to be done in the Province, and in conjunction with the Bishops thereof: And the exercise of this Power is limited to a particular case of a deposed Bishop: And the History and Reason of convening this Council shews, this was all that was intended by this Canon.

So that if this Trust had been put into the hands of the Bishops of *Rome*, by the Council of *Nice*, as *Sozimus*, Bishop of *Rome*, in his Dispute with the *African* Bishops, very unworthily pretended; or that of *Sardice* had been a General Council, as others as wrongfully pretend; yet the Trust here committed to the Bishop of *Rome*, being but provisional, and limited to a particular Case, and this only a Power of Review, nothing can be imagined more extravagant and vain, than to extend it to a general Right of Appeals in all Ecclesiastical Causes.

(a) Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. Lib. 7. cap. 3. sect. 6. pag. 311.
(b) Richerii Histor. Concil. Part 1. cap. 6. pag. 222.

SECT. XIII. And the force of this kind of reasoning will appear stronger still, if with the Learned *P. de Marca* (a), and *Richerius* (b), it be considered what a mighty difference there is betwixt a Revision and an Appeal; for a Revision leaves the definitive Sentence to the

the former Jurisdiction, but with this difference, that some new Judges are added to the former ; but an Appeal transfers the entire knowledge of the Cause to a superior Judge, who hears, and finally determines the Matter in his own Court.

And it is manifest, as the same Writers well observe, that it is the Power of a Revision or Rehearing, and not of Appeals, that the 'foresaid Canons grant to the Bishops of *Rome* (a) : And this Power too is limited to a particular case of Bishops deposed ; and the whole appears provisional, and limited to the Person of Pope *Julius*, and the present circumstances of the Christian Church, but affords so little ground for those pretensions which have been built upon it, that the Learned *De Marca* affirms, and this on Reasons unanswerable, that this Council decreed nothing contrary to the supream Authority of Provincial Councils settled by the Council of Nice (b).

(a) *Concord. Sacer. & Imper. Lib. 7. cap. 3. sect. 6. p. 311.*

(b) *Ibid.*

But, on the contrary, *Osius*, who presided in this Council, in a Synodical Epistle to *Julius*, Bishop of *Rome*, saith, This Council had confirmed the Canons of the Council of *Nice* (c) ; and indeed, the great thing designed and laboured by the *Arrian* Faction, was destroying the Authority of that Council, and they would have been exceedingly gratified in a Proceeding of this kind.

(c) *Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. cap. 12. pag. 514.*

And if there was no other proof, that this Council did not intend to violate the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, or to give the Bishops of *Rome* a Right to Appeals, the third Canon, which is one of the chief supports of that pretence, is enough, one would think, to clear the Matter beyond dispute ; for the beginning of that Canon does expressly require, that in Controversies which happen betwixt Bishops of the same Province, they shall abide by the Judgment of their Comprovincials, and not call for the Judgment of the Bishops of any other Province.

SECT. XIV. But whilst things thus proceeded at *Sardice*, the Eastern Bishops who retired to *Philopopolis*, condemned that Council, pronounced *Osius*, and the chief Managers thereof Excommunicate, and deposed *Julius*, Bishop of *Rome*, as holding Communion with *Athanasius* (d). And Succession so far justified this Proceeding,

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(d) *Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. 3. cap. 12. pag. 512.*

(a) Richerii
Hisor. Concil.
Part 1. p. 94.

ceeding, that this Council of *Sardice* was never receiv'd by the Eastern Churches, nor so much as found in the Greek Tongue till after the Collection of *Dionisius Exiguus* (a), and was universally esteemed as a Council of the *Latin* Church only; and to this day has not a place amongst the General Councils, in the best Collections which have been hitherto published.

Nor is it so esteemed by any Writer, but some few Men, whose Zeal for the grandure of the Papacy leads them cross the Canons of General Councils, and the practice of the whole Catholick Church; there being no General Council, and few Provincial Councils, till after the Tenth Century, that do not confirm the Canons of the Councils of *Nice*, and allow the Authority thereof; and consequently condemn the Canons of *Sardice*, so far as they interfere with those of *Nice*. And the late pretence, that the reason why the Council of *Sardice* is not allowed the Authority or Title of a General Council, by any General Council, was, because that Council was anciently reputed but as a part of, or an appendix to the Council of *Nice*, and was virtually confirmed in the confirmation thereof, is a pretence so far from weight and truth, that if one was to wish an ill turn to an Enemy, one could not think upon any thing more likely to fix a reproach upon him, than making him the Author, or the Advocate of so false and so ignorant a pretence.

But if one may speak freely, those Learned Men who have taken a great deal of pains, to prove that of *Sardice* to be a General Council, and derive the Right of the Bishops of *Rome* to Appeals from thence, seem to begin their Account at the wrong end, and exceedingly lessen the Power they pretend to magnify; for the truth is, it was not the Council of *Sardice* which gave the Bishops of *Rome* a Right to Appeals, but it was the Power those Prelates raised themselves unto, which gave the first thought of raising that Assembly to the Title and Authority of a General Council; and it is the same reason that still supports that pretence: And it is a mighty condescension in those Prelates to lodge that Power in the Canons, which in truth they owe entirely to their own Conduct, and the Council never so much as thought of. And the Secret had lain undiscovered to

to this Day, if there had not been a necessity of shelt'ring an Usurpation under a pretence of Law.

SECT. XV. But whatever sense other Churches might have of the Council of *Sardice*, it is very evident, that it was not esteemed as a General Council by the Church of *England*; nor the Authority thereof as to the Matter of Appeals, ever allowed, till by base and unworthy Arts the Legantine Power was forced upon these Nations, about four hundred Years after the Council of *Cloveshoe*. Thus much is evident, that the Council of *Hatfield* received all the General Councils then received by the Christian Church, which the Council thus enumerates; the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon*, and the second at *Constantinople* (a): And at the same time the *English* Church received a Patriarchal Council under Pope *Martin*, (b) but takes no notice of that at *Sardice*.

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(a) Concil.
Brit. Tom. I.
pag. 169.
(b) Ibid.

And in the Council of *Calcuith*, the Bishops of *Ostia* and *Tudertum*, Legates of *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, proposed to the *English* Bishops the receiving of six General Councils only (c); and this was in the Year 787, before which time, it is very well known, the Church of *Rome* had received six General Councils without that of *Sardice*, not including the disputed Council of *Constantinople*, against the Worship of Images. And in the mighty Collections out of the Councils made by *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Seventh Century, and by *Egbert*, Archbishop of *York* in the Eighth, there is not so much as one Canon from the *Sardique* Council.

(c) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 293.

But, on the contrary, the hundred forty first Canon in the Collections of *Egbert* is taken from the Council of *Nice*, and asserts the Authority of the Metropolitan in his Synod to be final (d); though in his forty eighth Canon he speaks of carrying some Questions to *Rome* for decision.

(d) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 273.

And in those which pass under the name of *Ælfrick's* Canons, the four first General Councils are reckoned in this order, *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Chalcedon*, (e) and are said to be observed as the four Gospels. And so far was the Church of *England* from allowing the Bishops of *Rome* to rehear a Cause which had been determined in its Provincial Councils, much less to remove a Cause from thence by Appeal, that it appears

(e) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 581.

from the Council of *Clarendon*, that there was no Appeal from the Archbishops, but, in some cases, to the Courts of the King; but, on the contrary, it was received as a part of the Law of *England*, that no Bishop could go out of *England* without the King's leave; and that the Bishop of *Rome* could send no Legate into *England*, but upon the King's particular desire.

(a) Hovenden.
Annal. An.
1119. fol. 272.

And this was so manifest, that at the agreement betwixt *Henry the First* and Pope *Calistus* at *Gisfort* in *France*, that Prelate consented to this, as the Right to the Crown of *England* (a): And if the Bishop of *Rome* had no Power to call a Bishop to *Rome*, nor send a Legate to take cognizance of any Matter in *England*, it will be past a doubt, that the 'foresaid Canons of *Sardice* were never received in *England*, at least, not in that sense which is pretended to by some Men. And as this shews us how steadily the Church of *England* acted up to the Council of *Nice*, without suffering any Foreign Power to break in upon it; so the long Controversy about the Legantine Power will, in its proper place, lead us to consider, when and how these Measures came to be changed; but this being said to shew upon what foot the 'foresaid Council of *Cloveshoe* proceeded, and to assert the Authority of Provincial Synods, it will be time to ask the Reader's Pardon for this Digression, and return to view the further Proceedings of the Council of *Cloveshoe*.

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(b) Can. 13.

(c) Can. 15.

(d) Can. 17.

(e) Can. 17.

SECT. XVI. But whilst this Council was thus careful to preserve the Right and Authority of the *English* Church, yet that they might give no Offence to the Bishop and Church of *Rome*, nor omit any thing needful to a just Deference and Gratitude, this Council appointed, that in the observance of Festivals, the Canonical Hours of Prayer (b), and the Litanies, and Rogations, (c), the Usages of the *Roman* Church should be observed. And as a Mark of their Gratitude and Obligation to the See of *Rome*, they erected Festivals to the Memory of *Gregory the Great*, and *Austin* the first Archbishop of *Canterbury* (d), and appointed that the Name of *Austin* should have the next place in their Litanies, after that of *Gregory* (e).

Nor were the Prelates in the Council of *Cloveshoe* less careful to do Right to the Trust God had put into their hands, than to the Authority of the Church of *England*,
and

and their Gratitude to the Church of *Rome*; and therefore, amongst many excellent Advices to the Bishops, Clergy, and People, the Advice of *Bede* to *Egbert* was approved, and the Clergy were obliged to learn the Creed and the Lord's-Prayer in the *English* Tongue, and teach them to the People; and to be able to explain in the *English* Tongue the Offices of Baptism and the Lord's-Supper (a); and they were particularly required to be constant themselves, and encourage the People to be constant in their attendance on the Communion of the Body and Blood of *Christ* (b), to apply themselves to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, (c) and if they had not the knowledge of the *Latin*, they were required to learn some particular Offices in the *English* Tongue (d); a due observance of the Lord's-Day was also recommended (e), and several Mistakes concerning Alms (f) and Penance were rectified (g).

(a) Can. 10.

(b) Can. 22.

(c) Can. 7.

(d) Can. 27.

(e) Can. 14.

(f) Can. 26.

(g) Can. 27.

Anno

747.

SECT. XVII. Thus ended this Council, to which the Learned *Du Pin* thinks fit to give the Title of a National Council, though in proper speaking it seems to be no other than a Provincial Synod, consisting only of *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who presided in it, and eleven Suffragan Bishops, and these were, for the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Dunnus*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*; the Bishops of the Kingdom of *Mercia* were five, and these were *Totta*, Bishop of *Leiceſter*; *Witta*, Bishop of *Lichfield*; *Podda*, Bishop of *Hereford*; *Milred*, Bishop of *Worceſter*; and *Almight*, Bishop of *Sydnaceſter* or *Lindeſey*, for ſo this Biſhop is wrote by *Malmsbury*, though in the Editions of the Council he is wrote Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*, and doubtleſs by a Miſtake, for *Kinemulf* was at this time Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*.

The *Western English* had two Bishops preſent in this Council, theſe were *Hunferdus*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Hirwald*, Biſhop of *Shirborn*. The *East-Angles* had only one Biſhop preſent here, and this was *Heardulf*, Biſhop of *Dunmoe* and *Helmanſted*. The *East* and *South-Saxons* had but two Biſhops, and theſe were, *Egwulf*, Biſhop of *London*, and *Siega*, Biſhop of *Selfey*, both preſent in this Council, which ended much to the Honour of the *English* Nation, giving a very remarkable Inſtance of their care to preſerve their Rights. *Egbert* was at this time Archbiſhop of *York*, but was not preſent in this Coun.

Council, nor any other Bishop North of *Humber*, though there were at this time no less than four Bishops within the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, comprchending the Bishop of *Candida Casa*, now *Wittern* in *Scotland*.

Ethelwald, King of the *Mercians*, and many of his Nobility were present at this Council, and many of the Lower Clergy; no sooner was this Council finished, but the Archbishop caused a Copy of it to be dispatched away to *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*. Nor was this Council only sensible of that Prelate's Designs to raise the Bishops of *Rome* to an Authority the Canons of the Church had denied them; but he had the Mortification to find great opposition from the *French* and *German* Bishops; some of whom, seeing into the bottom of his Design, refused to receive Palls from *Rome*; and this after *Boniface* had sent thither, and obtained the grant thereof (a), and the rest were generally uneasy under his Legantine Power.

(a) Zachar.
Epist. Concil.
Tom. 6. Labb.
Col. 1504. &
Baron. Annal.
An. 751.

And which was still a greater Mortification, *Boniface* himself was so sensible of the corruption of the Court he served, and complained thereof to Pope *Zachary*, in terms so reproachful, that he fell under the displeasure of that Prelate for it (b); but it was not long before God put an end to his Life and Troubles; and in such a manner as ought to cover his Memory from the reproach his misplaced Zeal too justly deserved; for it pleased God to suffer him to be martyred for the sake of *Christ*, in the Year 754, as he was discharging the Offices of his Holy Function in *Friesland*.

(b) Ibid.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Ab Anno 753 ad Annum 792.

SECT. I. **D**ispute betwixt the Emperor Philippicus, and Constantine, Bishop of Rome: The occasion and effects thereof.

II. First rise of the Controversy about Images: Occasion thereof. Italy thereby withdrawn from Obedience to the Emperor.

III. Baronius quarrels the Greek Historians, for their Account of that Controversy: The Reasons thereof examined. The French called into Italy by the Bishop of Rome. Pipin, with his Army conquers Lombardy.

IV. Pipin gives Rome and its Dependances to the Bishops thereof.

V. The French boast the Greatness of the Bishops of Rome is owing to them: The ground thereof: The Reasons of this digression.

VI. Donation of Pipin thought to have given occasion to the pretended Donation of Constantine the Great. Folly and Impudence of that pretended Grant. The ill returns to the French of their Favours to the Bishops of Rome.

VII. Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, dies. Egbert, Archbishop of York dies. Their Characters.

VIII. Offa divides the Province of Canterbury; sets up an Archbishop's Seat at Lichfield: Gets a Pall from Rome to colour his Proceedings.

IX. Confusions in our History, as to the time when this Archbishoprick was erected, and the Persons who enjoyed that Title. Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Leicester, Sydnacester, Helmansted, and Dunmoe made Suffragans to the Archbishop of Lichfield.

X. Council of Calicuith: The occasions and circumstances thereof. Division of the Province of Canterbury said to be confirmed in this Council. Legates of the Bishop of Rome present at this Council: Occasion of their coming inquired into.

XI. Proceedings in that Council.

XII. *Canons of this Council.*

XIII. *Some Reflections on the form and circumstances of this Council.*

Anno
753.

SECT. I. FROM this time, till towards the end of this Century, when the whole Kingdom of *Mercia* was taken out of the Province of *Canterbury*, and the Controversy about the Worship of Images disturbed the *English Church*, our Histories have little else to entertain the Reader with, but the Miseries of War, and the changes it produced, except what relates to the Successions and Deaths of the Clergy; and these have been so carefully related by so many other hands, that the omission will need no excuse.

But whilst our Historians are thus barren, the Revolutions abroad are very extraordinary and surprising, and such as had in after-times a mighty influence on all the Affairs of Christendom, and on the Church of *England* in particular; and therefore to set that History in its true Light, it will be requisite to look abroad, and observe the Revolutions in the Empire, and the Influences thereof on the Affairs of Religion, especially in the Western Churches.

The Northern People had not only torn *Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and a great part of *Italy* it self from the *Roman Empire*, but left the little remains of *Italy* in such circumstances, that it never ceased languishing till *Rome* it self, which had hitherto given the Name to the Empire, was about the middle of this Century cut off from it; and though there were doubtless many other concurrent causes, yet the Affairs of Religion had a great share therein; the *Monothelite Heresy*, which had given so much trouble to the last Age, revived again with this, and the Emperor *Philippicus* ran so fiercely into the Interest of that Heresy, that he not only gained a Council to establish it, and condemn that of *Constantinople*, (a) but sent directions to *Constantine*, Bishop of *Rome*, to act accordingly.

Constantine, and the People of *Rome* were so far from obeying, that in opposition to the Commands of the Emperor, they caused a Picture of the six General Councils, whereof that of *Constantinople* against the *Monothelites* was one, to be drawn upon a Wall of *St. Peter's Church*

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
710.

Church in *Rome*; this the Emperor commanded to be defaced, and the Bishop restored again (a); and proceeding in his resentment, he would not suffer the Image of the Emperor, according to custom, to be set up in the Church, and caused his Name to be left out of the Dypticks of the Church: And so far did this Faction proceed, that when the Emperor would have removed *Christopher*, the Duke or Governour of *Rome*, and have put in *Peter* in his room, as fitter to govern that City under this disorder, the People opposed the change, and several Persons were slain on both sides (b). Thus things passed about the Year 710.

SECT. II. Before this Breach was made up, the famous Controversy about the Worship of Images broke out; for the *Saracens* had not only broke in upon the Eastern parts of the Empire, but proceeded so far as to besiege *Constantinople* it self; and animated their People in their Cruelties upon the Christians, by charging them with Idolatry in the Worship of Images; and therefore *Leo Isaurus*, the Emperor, to deliver his People from this pretence for the Cruelty of their Enemies, and the Church from the reproach of Idolatry, did, by a severe Edict, command that Images should every where be taken out of the Churches; and at *Constantinople* caused those to be put to Death who refused to obey (c): And because *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, refused to execute this Edict, the Emperor deposed him, and set up *Anastasius* in his stead (d), who took his Pattern from the Emperor, and sent his Exhortation to the Bishop of *Rome* to do the like (e). But this Proceeding had the same effect that violent Councils in Matters of Religion usually have, and did not succeed.

Therefore, about the Year 726 the Emperor publish'd a general Edict to the same effect (f); *Gregory* the Second, then Bishop of *Rome*, instead of complying with this Edict, called a Council, which met at *Rome*, wherein it was decreed, that the use of Images should be continued in their Churches (g); and an *Anathema* was pronounced against the Emperor, and all that had joined with him in forbidding the use thereof (h); and that Prelate wrote a Letter to the Emperor, very haughty, and full of new Maxims, and stopped the Money the Emperor was raising in *Italy*; and not only so, but he withdrew the People

(a) Ibid.

(b) Ibid.

Anno
753.(c) Pii. Pont.
Decad. Blond.
Epit. Lib. 10.
Fol. 23.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Baroni.
Annal.
An. 726.(g) Pii. Epit.
Decad. Blond.
Lib. 10. fol. 23.(h) Ciacon.
Vit. Greg. II.
Anno 716.
Col. 242.

(a) Mezeray
Anno 740.

(b) De Marca
Concord. Sacer.
& Imper.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.
pag. 3.

(c) Histor. re-
rum Orient.

fol. 101 & 103.

(d) Eutropii
Hist. Roman.

Lib. 21. p. 294.

Ab Anno 753.

ad Ann. 756.

(e) Antiquæ
Eccles. Discipl.
pag. 508.

(f) P. Diaconi
de Gest. Longo-
bard. Lib. 6.
cap. 14.

People and the Army of *Italy* from their Obedience (a), and raised a Rebellion against the Emperor (b). And the account *Zonaras* gives of this whole Transaction is much the same (c); and so is that of *Eutropius* (d); but with this difference, that he charges this defection more particularly on Pope *Gregory*, and saith, that by his means *Rome*, and all *Italy*, were withdrawn from the Empire.

SECT. III. *Baronius* quarrels the Authority of the *Greek* Historians in this particular, as designing to reflect Dishonour on the Bishops of *Rome*, and the *Latin* Church, and reproaches them with Ignorance of the History of the Western Church, as *Monsieur du Pin* does with Design and Malice to the Bishops of *Rome* (e); and both those Learned Writers are at some pains to clear those Prelates, especially *Gregory* the Second, from a Reproach which seems to lie heavy upon his Memory: But, after all, if the Honour of the Bishops and Church, or at least the Court of *Rome* had not been touched in this Affair, the Authority of the *Greek* Historians had passed unquestioned.

To say no more, the very Epistles of *Gregory* the Second and Third, *Zachary* and *Stephen*, to *Charles Martel*, and *Carloman* and *Pipin*, his Sons, published by that Learned Historian *Baronius*; and in several Editions of the Council, put it beyond a doubt, that the Bishops of *Rome* had a great share in withdrawing the People of *Rome* from their Duty to their rightful Prince, and bringing the Empire to the *Franks*, if they were not the sole Contrivers of it.

Paulus Diaconus (f) does, as *Baronius* observes, say, that upon the general discontent of the *Italians* they would have abandoned *Leo* the Emperor, and have chosen a new one, if the Bishop of *Rome* had not perswaded them to the contrary. But if one compares the date of this particular, with the Letters of the Bishops of *Rome*, to *Charles Martel*, and the subsequent Matters of Fact, one will find it difficult to prove the Dutifulness of those Prelates, from the Instance *Baronius* lays so much stress upon.

Thus much is evident, that in the place that *Baronius* quotes for the proof of it, *Paulus Diaconus* saith, that the then Bishop of *Rome*, which was *Gregory* the Second, despised the Command of *Leo* the Emperor (g). And

Ciaco-

(g) Ibid.

Ciaconius, who was never thought partial to the prejudice of the Bishops of *Rome* by *Baronius*, does, in the *Life of Constantine* say, he opposed the Emperor *Philippicus* to his Face (a), and ascribes the tearing of *Italy* from the Empire, partly to the Controversy about Images (b); and in the *Life of his Successor, Pope Gregory the Second*, that Writer saith, that *Gregory* forbade the *Italians* to pay their customary Tribute to the Emperor (c), and that this his Conduct was occasioned by the Controversy about Images.

(a) Ciacon.
Vit. Constant.
Col. 240.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ciacon.
Vit. Gregor. II.
Col. 242.

But *Bellarmino*, who lived in a time when the Court of *Rome* made no difficulty to own the deposing Doctrine, does, as *Monsieur du Pin* observes, not only avow, that *Gregory the Second* excommunicated the Emperor *Leo Isaurus*, and forbade the *Italians* to pay him Tribute, but saith, that if we believe some Men he deposed him; (d) and that Learned Writer *Monsieur du Pin*, is so far from clearing *Gregory* from that Imputation, that all he has said will prove nothing else to one who considers the whole Series of the Story, but that this Learned Writer does very worthily own his detestation of the deposing Doctrine.

(d) Du Pin
de Antiqua
Eccles. Discipl.
pag. 508.

But to whatever Cause it is to be ascribed, thus much is certain, that in the time of *Leo Isaurus*, the People of *Rome, Ravenna, and Venice*, and such other parts of *Italy* as had till then remained in obedience to the Empire, did generally revolt (e); and, for the most part, the Cities chose themselves Dukes (f), and the Great Men, that were able, set up little Sovereignities out of the Spoils of the Empire.

(e) Pii Pontif.
Decad. Blond.
Epit. Lib. 10.
fol. 23. C.
(f) Ibid.

The Difficulties the Empire at this time struggled under, put it out of the Power of the Emperor to chastise the Disobedience; but under the Reign of *Constantine Copronimus*, about the Year 753, *Astolphus*, King of the *Lombards*, carried home the Revenge that People had deserved, and seized the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the *Pentapolis*, and carried his Conquest to the Walls of *Rome*, and then challenged the Obedience of the Bishop and People thereof, as due to him in Right of his Conquest. *Stephen*, at this time Bishop of *Rome*, applied himself to *Pipin*, King of the *Franks*, who, at his entreaty, entered *Italy* with an Army, and recovered all the *Lombards* had taken.

(a) P. Æmilii
de Gest. Franc.
fol. 34. K.

(b) Pii Pontif.
Epit. Decad.
Blondel. Lib.
10. fol. 27. C.
(c) Ibid.

(d) Baron.
Annal.
Anno 755.

(e) Petavii.
Rationar.
Par. 2. An. 756.

(f) Æmilii
de Gestis
Francorum.

(g) Mezeray
An. 756.

(h) Pii Decad.
Blond. Epit.
Lib. 10. fol. 25.

(i) Adonis
Chronicon.

Ætat. 6. p. 216.

(k) Decreti
Distinct. 63.
cap. 30.

(l) Concil.
Tom. 7. Ed.
Lab. Col. 1515.

SECT. IV. The Emperor *Constantine* hearing of this Success of *Pipin*, and suspecting his Design, sent his Embassador to *Pipin*, who told this Prince, that the Bishop and People of *Rome* were the Subjects of his Master, and the Præfecture of *Ravenna* as unquestionably his Right, as *Paris* was the Right of *Pipin*; and therefore intreated, that the Places he had conquered might be delivered to him, to whom they did unquestionably belong (a). To which *Pipin* answered, that he came into *Italy* on purpose to oblige the Bishop and People of *Rome*, and that he would be just to his Undertaking; and considering he had no other way to secure the Bishop and People of *Rome* in his Interest, and thereby the vast Designs he had formed, instead of restoring them to the Emperor, he made a Present of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, comprehending *Ravenna*, *Bologna*, *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Torly*, *Cesenna*, *Bobia*, *Ferrara*, and *Adria*; and of the *Pentapole*, comprehending *Rimini*, *Pesaro*, *Conca*, *Fano*, *Serigalia*, *Ancona*, and some other lesser places, to the Bishop and Church of *Rome* (b); and for this end sent his Chaplain, the Abbot of *Fulrad*, (c) to offer the Keys of the said Towns on the Altar of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, together with the Articles of Agreement betwixt him and the *Lombards*.

And though there is some little difference in the time, and in their manner of relating it; yet *Anastasius*, *Baronius* (d), *Petavius* (e), *P. Æmilii* (f), *Mezeray* (g), *Blondel* (h), and *Ado*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, (i) do all agree in this Account. And the Instrument of the Emperor *Lewis*, about the Year 813, inserted both into the Body of the Canon Law (k), and into *Labbe's* Collection of the Councils (l), and by which the Donations of *Pipin* and *Charlemain* are said to be confirmed, agrees with the Account of the 'foresaid Historians.

The Emperor finding no remedy, was forced to sit down with the hopes to disintangle himself, and find a time to recover the Rights of the Empire, and chastise the Rebellion of those who were made great by the Spoils of it; but that time never came, for the Factions and Disorders of the Empire still encreasing, and *Pipin* growing still more powerful, there was such a Foundation laid for the grandure of *Charlemain* his Son, that there was no withstanding his good Fortune and his Arms;

Arms ; but that Prince first possessed himself of the Title of the Emperor of the *West* (a), and then forced the Emperor *Nicephorus* to yield both the Title and Division of the Empire, and *Italy* was left within his Division. Thus this Affair begun about the middle of this Century, ended in the beginning of the next.

(a) *Chronicon Reginonis.*
An. 801.

SECT. V. Though the future Conduct of *Pipin* shews, that notwithstanding the Present he had made to the Bishop of *Rome*, he intended that the City of *Rome*, and all the new Dominions of the Church should be held of him, as the supream Lord thereof ; and reserved to himself the nomination of those Prelates, and took an Oath of Fealty from them, at their Investiture ; yet the accession he had made to their Power and Figure made a mighty change in the Affairs of that See ; for those Prelates were hereby raised to the state of Princes : And this has given just ground to the *French* Historian, to say of *Stephen*, who was Bishop of *Rome* at this time : *That Stephen, by the good Offices of the French, may be called the Founder of the Liberty of Rome, and of the Papal Sovereignty.*

Anno
757.

Stephanus beneficio Francorum conditor Romanæ libertatis, & Pontificii Imperii vocitari posset. P. Æmilius de Gestis Francor. pag. 35.

Nor is he singular in this Judgment, for those who were able to trace the Grandure of those Prelates to its true Original, lay the Foundation here ; in Memory whereof, there was, as *Baronius* saith, an ancient Table hung up at *Ravenna*, which continued to his time with this Inscription : *Pipinus primus Amplificandæ Ecclesiæ viam aperiens* (b). To the Memory of *Pipin*, who first opened the way to enlarge the Authority of the Church. And *Stephen*, at this time Bishop of *Rome*, was so sensible of the change the favour of *Pipin* would produce, that he returned his acknowledgments in a strain of Eloquence, which carries the Marks of the utmost Exultation and Joy (c). And in another Epistle to the *French* (d) in general, he compares *Pipin* to *Moses* and *David* ; and applauds the Services of the *French* Nation, to the Church and Bishops of *Rome*, in such transports of elevation and complacency as shews at once the sense he had of those Favours ; and that the Court of *Rome* knew how to relish and enjoy them.

(b) *Baron. Annal. An.*
768. p. 19.

(c) *Baron. Annal. An.*
756. p. 9.
(d) *Concil. Tom. 6. Lab.*
Col. 1687.

I have not led the Reader out of his way only to shew, that the World had never yet heard of the later
Max-

Maxims in favour of the Papal Power ; nor barely to shew, that the Bishops of *Rome* raised themselves as the *Italian* Princes and States generally did, out of the Ruines of the Empire of the *Romans*, or *Franks* ; but I have done it to enable him to make a just Judgment of the Conduct of those Prelates in the part they bore in the Affairs of the Church of *England* ; for we are henceforward to consider them as Temporal Princes ; and being advanced to that State, we must not wonder if they act as such, or use their Character and Spiritual Authority to serve the purposes of Ambition and worldly Ends, or to stamp the Image of God upon their Interests as Secular Princes ; at least, this change will be ground enough to suspect the future Conduct of these Prelates, and justify our Caution and Reserve, whenever their Secular Interests are served, though covered by the most specious pretences to Religion, and the care of Souls.

But whilst the *French* glory in the advancement of a Power which laid out it self to put a Yoke on all the rest of Christendom, the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome* not only forget their Gratitude, but endeavour to rob the *French* of the Honour they deserved, and deceive the World into a belief, that the true origin of the Secular Grandure of the Papacy was owing to *Constantine the Great*, who, as they pretend, did, by a formal Grant, during his Life, give the City and Territories of *Rome*, his Palace therein, and the Sovereignty of the Western Empire, to the Bishops of *Rome*. Nor are they content thus to rob the *French*, but seem to have taken the first thought of that Imposture, from the real Services the Bishops of *Rome* received from the *Gallick* Princes.

Anno 757. (a) Mezeray Life of Pipin. An. 756. SECT. VI. For as Mezeray (a) observes, it is thought by some, that the fore said Present of *Pipin* to the Bishops and See of *Rome*, was made in the Name of the then Emperor *Constantine Copronimus* ; and that, if there be any at all, this was the foundation of the fabulous Donation ascribed to *Constantine the Great*. It is a mighty Complement paid by this Great Man, to the Flatterers of the Papal Power, to speak so softly of that Affair ; for one who looks into the Story of those Ages, and finds *Constantine* possessed of *Rome* and all *Italy*, after the pretended Grant to give them away, enjoying them whilst he lived, and giving them away when he died ;

died; that the second General Council held at *Constantinople* about sixty Years after his Death, and the fourth held at *Chalcedon* above an hundred Years after, give precedence to the Bishops of *Rome*, because that City was the chief Seat of the Empire; that the Emperors were possessed thereof for four hundred Years after the Death of *Constantine the Great*, residing therein when they pleased, and when absent, governing it by their Præfects, Dukes, or Exarchs Care, need no other Arguments to prove the Imposture of that pretended Grant.

In short, one who looks into the Body of the Laws of the Empire, drawn together by the appointment of the Emperor *Justinian*, and finds many of them were directed to the Bishops and People of *Rome* as their Subjects, appointing the Officers, and conducting the Government thereof; and that not only all the Histories of the Empire, but of all the known World, do agree in this Account, cannot but stand astonished to find a pretended Grant of *Constantine the Great*, giving away not only his Palace in *Rome*, but that City, *Italy*, and the Western Empire, to the Bishops of *Rome* (a); and this published by the Authority of those Bishops, amongst the most venerable Monuments of Antiquity; and in that Body of Laws received by a great part of Christendom, and intended as a Standard to all the rest.

(a) *Decreti*
Par. I. Distinct.
96. cap. 14.

He who well considers all this, will find it very difficult to speak otherwise of the pretended Grant of *Constantine*, then as one of the coarsest, ill-contriv'd, and most impudent, and shameless Impostures that was ever offered to Mankind; therefore, notwithstanding the pretended Right of *Constantine*, if we consider to whom the Resolution of uniting the *French*, and subjecting the *Germans* to the Bishop of *Rome* was owing, what was now done by *Pipin*, and afterwards by his Son *Charlemaign*, it seems highly reasonable to leave the *French* quiet and undisturb'd in the Honour they pretend to, in being the Founders of the Papal Greatness; and let their great Historian say, uncontroul'd, *That the Popes had the best portion of their Temporal Grandure from the French Kings* (b).

(b) *Mezeray*
Life of Char-
lemaign.
Anno 774.
pag. 99.

But if one looks forward, and observes the perpetual Jealousies and Quarrels betwixt the Empire and the Papacy, and considers, that the same Power that *Pipin* and

Charlemaign set up in *Rome*, was the Power that forced the succeeding Emperors out of *Rome* and *Italy* too, and used them but very coarsly in *Germany*, there will be little reason to envy the *French*, and too much ground to compare their Glory to the Goard of the Prophet, which was beautiful indeed, but gave being to the Worm that quickly withered and destroyed it.

Anno
758.

SECT. VII. Whilst the rest of *Europe* had a present share in the Revolutions of the *Roman* Church and Empire, the *English* Church for a while stood looking on, and unconcerned beheld the change; for except such Alterations as Death had made, the *English* Church was much in the same state as when we entred on the relation of Affairs abroad, and our Story so barren, that unless we dress up the Dreams and Visions of the Age, or bring the Legends of later date into Story, there is little to entertain one with, except what relates to the Succession of the *English* Bishops, where the changes were these which follow.

Anno
766.

Cuthbert, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died in the Year 758, and *Bregwin* succeeded the following Year, and he dying about the end of three Years, was succeeded by *Lambertus*. About the Year 766 died the first Archbishop of *York*, *Egbert*, with the reputation of a great Collector of Books, a great Scholar, and which is infinitely more, of a wise and useful Prelate; he had been bred under *Bede*; at least *Bede* had been assistant to him in his Studies (a); that Prelate had the good Fortune to have the Education of one of the greatest Men of the Age, and this was *Alcuinus*, Tutor and Favourite to *Charles the Great* of *France* (b); and, if we do not flatter our Nation, the Founder of the Schools in *Paris*, so deservedly eminent in after Ages.

(a) *Epist. Bed.*
ad Egbert.
pag. 252.

(b) *Sigebert.*
Gembl. Chron.
nograph. An.
790.

There is a Body of Canons, and a *Pœnitential*, which pass under the Name of *Egbert's* Collections, not unlike those ascribed to *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and it seems as much for the Honour of *Egbert*, they should have the same Judgment passed upon them, and be esteem'd, if not the Work of later Ages, yet that it received many Additions after his time; at least, there are some things that seem to have the air of Men skilled in the Arts of Lust, and no way becoming the Modesty and Purity of a Holy Prelate, the plainness of

of the Age, or the Account his Scholar *Alcuinus* gives of this great Man.

SECT. VIII. And, except in changes of this kind, things continued much in the same posture, till some Alterations in Political Affairs occasioned a considerable change in the Government of the Church; for *Offa*, a bold and daring young Prince, was advanced to the Kingdom of *Mercia*, about the Year 758, his restless and uneasy Spirit engaged him in frequent Wars, wherein he was for the most part successful, and his Successes formed new and ambitious Prospects, and engaged him in a resolution to model the Church of the *Mercians*, to answer the Idea he had conceived of his own Power and Conduct; and this gave beginning to his design, to make the Church within his Kingdom independent on the See of *Canterbury*; and in order thereunto he obliged the Bishops of his Kingdom to withdraw their Obedience from their Metropolitan; and *Lichfield* being then the chief City and Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, he caused his Bishops to own the Bishop of that See as their Metropolitan; and to give the better Grace to what he had done, after some time he sent to *Rome*, and from Pope *Adrian* obtained a Pall for his new Archbishop, but he had first put that Trust into his hands, and proceeded so far in this Affair, without consulting the Bishop of *Rome*, that it is manifest, that his application to the See of *Rome* for a Pall, was intended only to colour what he had before determined, and in some measure put into practice.

Anno
770.

And therefore when the *English* Bishops did afterwards, in an Epistle to Pope *Leo*, blame Pope *Adrian* for countenancing the violence offered to the See of *Canterbury*; the Fault they charge him with, was no other than confirming or recognizing what *Offa* had done (a). And in *Leo's* Answer to them (b), he is so far from owning, that Pope *Adrian* erected the Archbishoprick of *Lichfield*, that he tells those Prelates, that all the concern that Pope had in that Affair, was no more than in sending a Pall to the new Archbishop, and that upon the desire of King *Offa*, and the Bishops and Nobility of *England* (c), plainly ascribing that Work to the Authority of the Prince, and the National Church.

(a) *Anglia*
Sacra. Pars 1.
p. 461.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

And

And indeed it is very manifest, by all the circumstances of this Story, that all the share that Prelate had in this Affair, and all that was expected from him, was no more than an honorary Recognition, or at most a confirmation of what had before been done in *England*, and what would have been good without it. But it is much easier to shew, by their Epistles on this occasion, that neither the Bishops of *Rome* or *England* ascribed the erecting the See of *Lichfield* into an Archbishoprick, to the sending of a Pall to the Bishops thereof, or to any act of the Bishops of *Rome*, than to clear the Chronology, and ascertain the time and circumstances of doing it.

Anno
785.

SECT. IX. For our Historians are so ill agreed upon that Subject, that *M. Westminster* and *M. Paris*, place the Succession of *Adulphus*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, and his advancement to the state of Archbishop, in the Year 765, and the receiving of his Pall in the Year following, and make *Berthune* and *Highbert* his Successors in the See of *Lichfield*; whereas, on the contrary, *Malmsbury*, and *Florentius* invert that Order, and make *Berthune* and *Highbert* Predecessors to *Adulph*, and fix the Succession of *Aldulph* twenty Years lower. The *Saxon Chronicle* fixes the Advancement of *Highbert* in the Year 785 (a); and yet in the same Work we find his Name and Character ten Years before, (b) but it is amongst the Witnesses to a Lease let by *Beonne*, Abbot of *Peterborough*; and there is so much reason to think, that they who had skill enough to make Charters, knew how to make Leases and corrupt History too, that one would rather think, that seeming contradiction is owing to an Interpolation of later date, than to those who first obliged the World with that noble Monument of Antiquity.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.
785.
(b) Chron.
Saxon. An.
775.

(c) Angliæ Sac.
Par. 1. p. 429.

In short, the Successions of the Bishops of the See of *Lichfield* are loaded with so many difficulties, that that Learned Author, who laboured so successfully in things of this kind, does not stick to say, that the difficulties of Succession in that See, betwixt the Year 768 and the Year 800 were invincible (c), and yet the exact time of dividing the Province of *Canterbury* is not to be ascertained, but by settling the Successions in that See of *Lichfield*, on which it does chiefly depend.

Thus

Thus much is certain, that that Archbishoprick was founded by *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, confirmed by *Adrian*, whilst *Lambert* or *Jambert* was Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and that *Offa* forced *Jambert* to yield to the dividing his Province at the Council of *Calcuith*; and it is certain, *Adrian* came not to the Papacy till the Year 772, which makes it evident, that *M. Westminster*, and *M. Paris* are mistaken in their Account of this Affair; and, on the contrary, there is great appearance of truth in the conjecture of *Mr. Wharton* (a), that *Berthune*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, died in the Year 785, that *Higbert* was the same Year chosen his Successor, and that at the Council held at *Calcuith* within that Year, *Jambert* forced by *Offa*, consented to yield up a part of his Province to the Government of *Higbert*.

(a) *Angl. Sac.*
Par. 1. p. 429.

But *Higbert* did not assume the Title of Archbishop till the Council of *Calcuith* was over, and died the Year following, before he received a Pall. *Adulph* succeeding the same Year took upon himself the Title of Archbishop, and his Title was acknowledged by a Pall from Pope *Adrian*, and not long after this violence offered to the See of *Canterbury*, *Offa* having over-ran the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, and made it a tributary and dependant State, he laid both that and the Kingdom of *Mercia* into the new Province of *Lichfield* (b); by this change the Bishops of *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Leicester*, and *Sydnacester* within the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and the Bishops of *Helmansted* and *Dunmoe*, in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, became Suffragans to the new Archbishop of *Lichfield*.

(b) *Malmsh.*
de Gest. Pontif.
Lib. 1. fol. 113.

SECT. X. It is little less difficult to ascertain the Time, or adjust the Circumstances of the Council of *Calcuith*, than to fix the division of the Province of *Canterbury*; for some place this Council in the present Year, some in the Year preceeding (c), and some two Years after (d), and others three (e); but that which is plain, and in which our Historians generally agree, is, that about this time *Gregory* Bishop of *Ostia*, and *Theophylact* Bishop of *Todi*, two *Italian* Bishops, came into *England*, with the Character of the Legates of *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*; and during their continuance here, there were several Meetings of the Kings, Bishops, and Nobility, wherein several things relating to Faith and Discipline were, by those Prelates, proposed and allowed of by the *English* Kings,

(c) *Chron.*
Saxon. An. 785.
Florent.
Wigorn.
An. 785.
(d) *Cencil.*
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 304.
(e) *M. Westm.*
An. 789.

(a) *Concil.*
Brit. Tom. I.
pag. 292.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.*

Kings, Nobility, and Clergy; these are contained under twenty Heads, and pass under the Title of the Canons of the Council of *Calcuith* (a).

These Legates were sent by Pope *Adrian*, to inquire into the state of the *English* Church; and in their Speech to the *English* Bishops, the Legates tell them, that they were the first Priests that had ever been sent from *Rome* to *England*, since the Days of *Austin* the Monk (b). If we add to this, that these Legates were accompanied into *England* by Persons deputed by *Charles the Great* of *France*, there being at this time a strict Friendship betwixt *Charles*, and *Offa* King of the *Mercians*; that they saw *Jambert*, or *Lambert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in their way, but were received with great Joy by *Offa* (c); that the Archbishop was forced to yield up, or as others say, to resign a part of his Province, in one of the Assemblies these Legates had the Conduct of; and that the Arts of oppressing the Clergy by Legantine Power, so heavily complained of by after Ages, were yet unknown to the World: one is apt to conclude, that these Prelates came to *England* on the Instance of *Offa*, to intimidate the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and to colour the design of that Prince to divide his Province.

And if they came unsought for, the Successes of *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, and Legate of the Bishops of *Rome*, lie so near and so open, that one can scarce help thinking, that one has the true Key to the Zeal of Pope *Adrian*.

Anno
787.

SECT. XI. But whatever the Reasons of their coming were, these Legates being arrived, made no stay at *Canterbury*, but hasted to the places, where they hoped for better welcome. *Gregory*, Bishop of *Ostia*, went away to the Court of *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, probably at *Lichfield*; *Theophylact*, Bishop of *Todi*, to the North, where he took up his Quarters with *Eanbald*, Archbishop of *York*, and sending to *Osred* the Second, King of *Northumberland*, that Prince appointed the meeting of his Clergy and Nobility in Council, where, instead of entering into Consultation or Debate, or proceeding by way of Suffrage, according to the usual method of Councils, *Theophylact* delivered his Sentiments on several Heads (d): And this his Speech or Advice, for so it appears, rather than the Decrees of Council, was, when ended,

(d) *Concil.*
Brit. Tom. I.
pag. 292.

ended, signed with the sign of the Cross, as well by the King and Nobility of *Northumberland*, as by the Archbishop and Bishops, and the Abbots, and such of the Lower Clergy of the Province of *York* as were present at this Assembly.

But their Subscriptions run in such manner as shew, what sense they had of this Affair, that of *Eanbald*, Archbishop of *York*, runs: *For he Subscribes to it as to a Pious and Catholick Paper.* And

Hujus chartulæ piæ & Catholice taxationi signo sanctæ crucis subscripsi.

the Subscriptions of all the Lower Clergy, the Abbots, Nobility, and Judges are all answerable hereunto, and run thus: *We approve these wholesome Advices.*

Saluberrimis admonitionibus subscripsimus.

And the Legates, as well in the thirteenth Article, as in their Address to Pope *Adrian*, use the same terms. Where this Northern Assembly was held, does not appear. Things having passed in this manner in the North, the Bishop of *Todi* went to the mid part of *England*, to a place called *Calcuith*; where King *Offa*, and the English Bishops South of *Humber* met together, and the Advices which had been delivered to the Clergy of the North were produced, with the Subscriptions made in the Northern Assembly, and read first in *Latin*, and then in *English*; and being approved, were subscribed by King *Offa*, *Jambert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and twelve other Bishops, some of whose Names, and which is more, their Sees are intirely unknown to our Historians.

SECT. XII. This Assembly being broken up, the Discourses which pass under the Title of Canons, were, by the Legates, drawn into the form of an Epistle, and sent by them to *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*: In the first part whereof they tell that Prelate, they had recommended to the *English* Church the Faith and Discipline of the first six General Councils: In the second, that they had taught them the ancient form of Baptism, and the Duty of Godfathers: In the third, that they had required the Bishops to meet twice a Year in Council; and once a Year to go through their respective Diocesses, to preach to their People, to confirm, to dissolve Incestuous Marriages, and use their best care to suppress Sorcery, Witchcraft, and all Vice: In the fourth, they say, they had directed the Habits of Canons, Monks, and Nuns. In the fifth and sixth, the qualification of Abbots and Abbesses, Priests

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Priests and Deacons. The seventh directs the observance of the Hours of Prayer. The eighth, that the ancient Privileges granted by the Bishops of *Rome* be observed. The ninth forbids the Clergy to eat alone. The tenth forbids the Priest to celebrate Mass bare-legg'd, or to use Chalices, or Patens of Horn.

In the middle of this Article they tell Pope *Adrian*, that they had seen the *English* Bishops, in their Courts, judge of Secular, as well as of Spiritual Affairs; and that they had admonished them, according to the Advice of the Apostle, not to entangle themselves in worldly Affairs.

In the eleventh, they tell Pope *Adrian*, that they had given Advice to the Kings and Princes of *England*, how to conduct themselves in the discharge of their Trusts, and particularly, in the respect they ought to pay to Bishops, and the Reasons and Arguments they had made use of on this Subject.

In the twelfth, they pretend to direct the choice of Kings, and the Obedience that is due to them.

The thirteenth Article has the Title of the thirteenth Admonition and Advice, and is directed to Judges and Magistrates to discharge their Trusts with Integrity and Impartiality; and this is enforced by many Texts of Scripture.

The fourteenth is in the same strain, and has nothing that looks like a Canon, or Decree of a Council, but imports, that they who desire to live in Friendship with the Church of *Rome*, must endeavour to avoid Injustice, and to lay no greater Burthens upon the Churches, than what were laid upon them by the ancient Usages of former Emperors and Kings; thus, say they, there will be a general Union amongst Christians in Faith and Charity, and under *one Head, and that is Christ*.

The fifteenth directs the punishing of Incestuous Marriages.

The sixteenth forbids Bastards to inherit.

The seventeenth asserts the payment of Tythes from the Levitical Law, forbids Usury, and appoints Weights and Measures.

The eighteenth is a long Discourse to prove the practice and necessity of performing Vows.

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The nineteenth contains Advice, not to imitate the Usages of Pagans, together with a Charge against the *English* People, for imitating Pagans in the fashion of their Cloaths; for disfiguring their Horses, by flitting their Nostrils, tying their Ears together, and cutting off their Tails; for Sorcery, and the eating of Horse-flesh.

The twentieth is a Discourse of the Nature and Necessity of Repentance; but adds too, that such as depart this Life without Repentance and Confession, are not not to have the Prayers of the Church.

SECT. XIII. Thus stands the Account of this Council, as well in our Historians, as in the Collections of *Spelman* and *Labbe*; so that if the Historians of this Age did not teach us to use the words Synod and Council, to signify Assemblies of all kinds, whether for Religious, or Secular, or Mixt Affairs, we should be at a loss for a Name to this Assembly. In the Collections of the Learned Collector of the *British* Councils, it has the Name of a National Legantine Council: But in the History of *Monsieur du Pin* it is shrunk up, and called the Council of *Northumberland*; and if what is delivered down to us under the Title of Canons, be miscalled, the Speech, or Charge of a Bishop, or a Narrative of their Proceedings, sent from the Legates to Pope *Adrian*, the Stile, Form, and Circumstances of this Assembly, have occasioned, and seem to justify this Mistake.

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And the Names at the foot of this Council do rather lessen, than any way add to the reputation of it; for amongst the Subscribing Bishops, there are some whose Names, others whose Sees are intirely unknown to our Historians; besides, in the Body of this Council it is said, three or four times, that the Archbishop and Bishops signed with the Sign of the Cross; but there's no mention of subscribing their Names: And though *Bede* does seem to say, this was done in the Council of *Hatfield*, yet in all the Copies thereof, which have hitherto been made publick, we have the Names of the Bishops inserted by the Actuary, in the Preamble, but no Subscriptions at the foot of that Council.

And as there is no Instance of this kind, in any preceding or subsequent *English* Council before the Conquest, so it appears by the sixth Canon of the Council of *Cloveshoe*, in the Year 816, that the Usage of signing

Councils with the sign of the Cross was continued. Besides, what is said before in the Subscriptions made in the Northern Assembly, there are mentioned two Bishops more than were at that time Bishopricks within the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; of which one of them, that is, *Adulphus Myrensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus*, is one whose See was never yet heard of; and *Æthelwine* is no where to be found in the Catalogue of the Northern Bishops; and there are several of the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, whose Names are not to be heard of in the compass of this Age.

And the Names we meet with no way agree with the Accounts we have of their Successions: Thus, according to *M. Westminster*, *Edeulphus* Bishop of *Lindesey*, came not to that See till the Year after this Council. *Unwona*, who stands next to him in the order of the Subscribers, is said to be Bishop of *Leicester*; and yet amongst the Subscribing Bishops we have the Name of *Totta*, though that Name is no where to be found in the Catalogue of the *English* Bishops, but amongst the Bishops of *Leicester*, in which See he succeeded about the Year 737, and died about the Year 764, according to the *Fasti*; and was succeeded first by *Edbertus*, and after his Death by *Unwona*. And one who compares the Names of the following Subscribers, with the Catalogues of the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, at the time of this Council, will find great reason to believe, that those who signed this Council, signed it no otherwise than with the Sign of the Cross; that the addition of Names is a work of a later date.

Upon the whole Matter, one cannot forbear to think, that if ever there was such a Council in due form, as that said to be held about this time at *Calcuith*, the World has not yet been obliged with a true Copy of it; and that the remains we have thereof, are rather the History or Narrative of the Proceedings of the Legates, than true and genuine Canons of an *English* Council.

C H A P. XIII.

Ab Anno 792 ad Annum 795.

SECT. I. **T**HE Controversy about Image-Worship begins in England: The occasion thereof: The sense and practice of the first Ages in this particular.

II. The Time and occasion of introducing Images into the Church: Worship thereof not allowed in the Seventh Century, in the Church of Rome.

III. Council of Constantinople forbids the Worship and use of Images: Imperial Edicts on that subject: Opposition made by the Bishops and People of Italy: A Schism and Rebellion occasioned thereby.

IV. Empress Irene declares for the Worship of Images, attempts to settle it by a Council held at Constantinople: Is opposed by the Bishops and People, and forced to desist.

V. A Council called to meet at Nice, declares in favour of Images: Account of that Council by the Council of Frankfort: Condemned thereby.

VI. Disputes about the Judgment of the Council of Frankfort: The Grounds thereof. Second Council of Nice inexcusable.

VII. General opposition to the Worship of Images. English Church resents the Proceeding of the Council of Nice: Declares against the Worshipping of Images: Ingages Alcuinus to write against it.

VIII. Alcuinus's Book against Images lost. Sense of the Council of Francfort denied by some, allowed by Baronius, Labbe, Mezeray's, and Du Pin's Account of that Council. Worship of Images rejected by the English, French, and Germans.

IX. Doctrine of Reliques established by the Second Council of Nice: Ill effects thereof: Monks serve themselves by pretended Reliques: The Reception this Doctrine met with in England.

X. Body of St. Alban said to have been discovered to King Offa: A Synod said to be called, for taking up the Reliques of that Saint: A Monastery erected

to his Memory. Peter-Pence said to be granted about this time : Grounds of that pretence : The Inference of Polidore Virgil from hence : That falsely called a Tribute.

XI. Baronius follows Polidore in his Account of this Affair. No such Grant at this time as a Peny a House. True Account of that Affair : Ridiculous Inferences made from thence.

XII. Reason of relating the 'foresaid Story of Offa's pretended Vision : His Character.

XIII. The Marks of Falshood in the Story of the Reliques of St. Alban : Grounds of this Charge : Privileges said to be granted to that Monastery.

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SECT. I. **F**ROM the Synod of *Calcuith*, till this time, we are in the dark, only we are told, that there were several Councils in this Interval ; of which one is said to be held at *Wincenbale* or *Pyncanbale*, and another at *Acclam* in the *North* ; and both said to be held in the Year 788 by some, by others, in the Year 792, but if there ever were such Councils in *England*; at present there remains no more of them but the Names. But about this time the Controversy about the Worship of Images, which, for about sixty Years past, had occasioned a Schism in the Eastern Church, broke in upon the Churches of *England*.

This was occasioned by a Copy of the second Council of *Nice*, sent to *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, by *Charles the Great* of *France* : But because this has continued a long subject of Controversy to the Christian Church, and has produced a great deal of Faction and Mischief in States, as well as Division in the Church, it may not be amiss to look backward, and observe the Rise, the Steps, and Consequence of this Controversy : It is manifest beyond dispute, that the Rule of Gospel-Worship, that God was to be *Worshipped in Spirit and in Truth*, was understood by the Apostles and first Christians, not only to exclude the Rites of the Ceremonial Law, but to be infinitely more inconsistent with the Symbolical Worship of the *Gentiles* by Images, and visible Representations of the Being they adored ; and therefore the Apostles, and first Planters of the Gospel,
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as they laboured to possess the *Jews* with the necessity of laying aside the Ritual Law, did, with equal Zeal, labour to deliver the World from the low and mean Conceptions of the Divine Being, and the undue manner of Worshipping him in use amongst the *Gentiles*; and it is as manifest they were successful in both: And upon this ground, the use of Images was not only universally laid aside, where-ever the Christian Religion prevailed, but was esteemed a direct violation of the Rule of Worship which the Gospel had prescribed.

SECT. II. In this manner things continued, till the Inundations of the Northern People, in the fifth and sixth Centuries, did, in a great measure, restore Paganism to the Western Nations: And this terrible Judgment, which should have made the Western Christians wise to Holiness and Devotion, had a very contrary effect, and put them on studying to be wise out of the ways of God. And hence it came to pass, that in the Conversion of those Northern People, they were permitted to bring some of their Pagan Rites into the Christian Church.

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And it seems very probable, that it was Indulgence to this People, who had been accustomed to worship by Images, that introduced them into Churches; for tho' there is reason to believe, that the Images and Pictures of the Emperors had some Ages before been set up in Churches; yet it is manifest, these were Prerogatives by which the Honours paid to the Emperors were distinguished; and that for the same reason, and for the same ends, their Statues were set up in Senate-Houses, Markets, and other places of publick Concourse; and it seems not unlikely, that this way of doing Civil Honour to their Emperors, might dispose the Minds of some Christians, to set up the Statues of some of their Great Men, who had distinguished themselves by greater Holiness, or great Sufferings for the sake of Christ.

But this Usage, if begun, never made any considerable Progress, till the Inundations of the *Huns*, *Goths*, and *Vandals*, had overspread the Empire; but these People having driven Learning out of the Empire, thrown down Churches, and, for the most part, destroyed the Clergy of the Western Nations, by the sad circumstances they were reduced to, the Clergy of the sixth and seventh

Ages became Partakers in the Ignorance and Barbarity thereof; and therefore, considering the time when these rude People were converted, and the Clergy who had the conduct of their Conversion, one cannot wonder they were permitted to bring the use of Images with them into Churches.

Thus much appears, by an Epistle of Gregory the Great, to Serenus Bishop of Marseilles, about the Year 601, that some of these People newly converted, separated themselves from that Prelate, because he would not suffer them to set up any more Images in their Churches, and pulled down those which had been set up before; and therefore Gregory advises that Prelate, that he should be careful to teach his People, *That Images are not to be worshipped, only to be used as Books are, for History and Instruction, but not to hinder them, if they desire it, to set up Images in their Churches* (a).

(a) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 9.
Epist. 9.

And the reason that Gregory gives, why Serenus should permit Images to be set up in Churches, was, least by refusing it, *He should give offence to Pagans and barbarous People, amongst whom he lived, and prejudice their Minds against the Christian Religion* (b).

(b) Ibid.

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(c) Mezeray
Life of Clo-
tair II. p. 50.

SECT. III. Nor am I singular in the forefaid conjecture; for Mezeray (c) in the account he gives of the French Church in the seventh Age, when this Epistle of Gregory was written, saith, *That notwithstanding all the care of the Prelates, who, by the Authority of their Kings, pulled down the Pagan Temples, there were yet a world of Pagans, especially amongst the French, and those of the most principal: And for those that were converted, they had much ado to wean them from their ancient Superstition: They bore a reverence still to the places where the Gentiles had worshipped and adored; and still retained some remainders of their Ceremonies, their Festivals, Augures, and the Witchcrafts of Paganism, which they mingled with the Exercises of the Christian Religion.*

(d) Concl.
Tom. 9. Lab.
Col. 483.

And long after this time, in an Epistle of Pope John the Ninth, to the Archbishop of Rhemes (d), the Pope takes notice of the like practice amongst the Normans, who had settled themselves in that part of France which was under the care of that Archbishop, and had not long before the date of that Epistle been baptized; yet notwithstanding that, they continued to live in the Pagan man-

manner, offering Sacrifices to their Idols or Images, and partaking of the Gentile Sacrifices.

These Passages so fully explain Gregory's Epistle to *Serenus*, that there seems no ground to doubt, that the use of Images was introduced into the Churches of the West, upon the Conversion of the Northern People; and that the Worship thereof had its beginning in the West, from their Superstition. But if there can be ground to doubt the original of this Usage, it is evident, past contradiction from the 'foresaid Epistle of Gregory to *Serenus*, that the Worship of Images was not allowed of by the Church of *Rome*, in the beginning of the seventh Century.

However, Images beginning about this time to be introduced, the Superstition which first brought them in, grew up so fast, that in the beginning of the eighth Century, a Worship began to be paid to them: And this became so visible, that the *Jews* and the *Saracens* charged the Eastern Christians with Idolatry in the Worship of Images (a). *Leo Isaurus* advanced to the Empire about the Year 717, was so sensibly touch'd with this Reproach, that by an Edict about the Year 726, he commanded that Images should be taken down, and removed out of Churches; and by another Edict made the refusal thereof Capital (b). And *Leo Isaurus* dying, his Son *Constantine Copronimus* pursued his Steps, and about the Year 754, called a Council, consisting of 338 Bishops, which met at *Constantinople*, and not only decreed against the Worship, but also against the use of Images (c) in Churches.

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
723.

(b) Pii Pontif.
Epit. Decad.
Blond. Lib.
10. fol. 23.

(c) Concil.
Tom. 6. Lab.
Col. 1661.

These Princes met with great opposition, and especially from the Bishops and People of *Italy*, and a mighty Schism was raised in the Church, and great Heats and Factions in the State; insomuch as the *Italians*, and in particular the Bishops and People of *Rome*, as before has been observed, withdrew their Obedience from the Emperor.

SECT. IV. However, these Princes bore down all opposition, and with violence pursued their design to banish Images out of Churches. In this manner things proceeded, till the Year 780; but *Leo* the Emperor dying that Year, the Empire fell into the hands of *Constantine* his Son, who had been proclaimed Emperor du-

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during the Life of his Father ; but *Constantine* being yet a *Minor*, his Mother the Empress *Irene* possessed her self of the Administration of the Empire, and the conduct of the former Princes in the business of Images, having made mighty Heats, she resolved upon a different course, and probably hoped, by this means, to bring the *Italians*, whose defection had been chiefly occasioned by this Controversy, back again to their Duty, and quiet the ferment in the Empire.

And therefore, no sooner was she possess'd of the Administration, but she gave private notice to *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, of her Resolution to restore the use of Images; and foreseeing she should meet with great opposition from *Paul*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, she forced him to retire from that Station into a Monastery, and put *Tarasius* in his room ; whom, from a Lay-man, she advanced to that Patriarchate.

And the better to open the way to her design, by an Edict, liberty was granted to dispute for the lawfulness of worshipping Images (a), whereas *Baronius* observes, that before that Edict of *Irene* and *Constantine*, the People, Soldiers, and Senate so fiercely opposed that Doctrine, that no Man was allowed to dispute for the lawfulness of Image-Worship (b).

(a) Baron.
Annal.
Anno 784.
N. 3.

(b) Ibid.

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This Design was carried on in concert with *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, and things, as they thought, being prepared for it, the Empress summoned a Council to meet at *Constantinople*, in the Year 786 ; but the Legates from *Rome* being arrived, and the Council assembled, August the first, the Bishops and Clergy who opposed the design, opposed also the meeting of the Council (c), and declared, that Matter had been finally determined, and ought not to be brought under debate again ; and the Citizens and Military Men being generally of this Opinion, the Dispute rose to such a height, that a Tumult was raised in the City ; and the Bishops assembled by the appointment of the Empress, were in great danger of being torn to pieces in the Insurrection (d). This broke up the Council, and put the Empress upon new Arts to bring about her Design, which she accomplish'd in a little time.

(c) Baron.
Annal. An.
786. N.2.3.4.

(d) Ibid.
Et Eutropii
Rer. Roman.
Lib. 23. fol.
327.

Anno
792.

SECT. V. For having punish'd some, and banish'd others, and by several ways contrived the dispersing and

and breaking that Party, which opposed both the Worship of Images, and the use of them in Churches, and especially the Military Force which sided with it (a), she brought things to that pass, that She, and the young Emperor, appointed a Council to meet at Nice in Bithynia the Year following, who accordingly met, and entered upon business in September 787.

This Assembly consisted of 350 Bishops, who in their sixth and seventh Sessions, not only condemned the Council of Constantinople, under the Emperor Leo, which had forbid the use of Images, (b) but in the fifth Session, They pronounced Anathema's against all the breakers of Images, against all that call Images by the Name of Idols, or apply the Texts of Scripture against Idols, to the Images in use amongst Christians; or refuse to salute them: And determined, that the adoration of Honour should be paid to them (c).

And the better to illustrate the Doctrines they delivered, or as Monsieur Labbe expresses it, (d) that the Fathers might the better reap the Fruits of their Labours, in the fifth Session of this Council, they caused the Image of our Blessed Saviour to be brought into the Assembly, and they all fell down and worshipped it, if we may rely on the Authority of this Learned Writer in this particular. The Conduct of these Prelates may possibly give us a just view of the Sentiments of this Council, and shew us upon what ground the second Canon of the Council of Francfort represents the sense of this Council, which was removed to, and ended at Nice, but was begun at Constantinople; and for this reason is called, in that Canon, the Council of Constantinople, in the point of Images, in a very different manner from what appears in the ordinary Copies thereof.

For that Canon saith, *A Question arising concerning the late Council of Constantinople, about the Worship of Images, in which Council it was decreed, that whosoever did not give to the Images of the Saints Worship and Adoration, as they give to the Divine Trinity, should be Anathema.* This, saith this Canon, is what the Holy Fathers of the Council, who deny all such Adoration, condemn, and have unanimously condemned. And if this Do-

Allata est in medium quaestio de nova Graecorum Synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt; in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus sanctorum ita ut deificae Trinitati servitium, aut adorationem non impenderent anathema judicarentur qui supra sanctissimi patres nostri omnimodis adorationem & servitium renuentes contempserunt atque constituentes condemnaverunt. Concil. Tom. 7. Col. 1057. Ed. Labb.

ctrine, charged on the Council of *Nice* by that of *Francfort*, was not truly the sense of that Council, thus much is evident from an Epistle of Pope *Adrian* to *Constantine*, and his Mother *Irene*, inserted in the second Session of that Council, that this Charge of the Council of *Francfort* is agreeable to the received Opinion the World then had of the Sentiments of those who appeared in the defence of Images; for in that Epistle Pope *Adrian* acknowledges, that that Party was charged with deifying their Images before the meeting of the Council of *Nice*: And the little care that Assembly took to justify that Party from so reproachful a Reflection, adds new weight to the Authority of the Council of *Francfort*. (a)

(a) Concil.
Tom. 7. Col.
106. D. Lab.

Anno

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SECT. VI. But though the sense of the second Council of *Nice* is thus represented by the Council of *Francfort*, and it be evident, that *Charles the Great*, who convened and was present at this Council, had a Copy of the Council of *Nice* sent him by *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, immediately after the conclusion of it; and it is highly probable, that this Copy was that by which the Council of *Francfort* judged of the sense of the Council of *Nice*; yet I must not omit to say, that this Charge does not appear so black in the Copies we have of the Council of *Nice*, in the Collections of *Binius*, or *Labbe*, or in the *Synodicon* published by the Learned and Judicious Dr. *Beveridge*; and that Pope *Adrian*, in his Epistle to *Charlemaign*, the Emperor *Constantine*, and the Empress *Irene*, and others, wrote upon the occasion of this Controversy, speaks of the Worship of Images, in terms much softer than those ascribed to the Council of *Nice*: But after all, what is plain in the Council of *Nice*, is what no Art can colour or excuse.

For it is demonstrable, both from the Nature of Religious Worship, and the Rules which God has given for the Conduct of it, that the Saints, and much more their Images and Reliques, are incapable of being the object of Religious Worship: The reason is evident; for if Religious Worship, in proper speaking, be nothing else but an expression of the Idea the Mind conceives of the Excellency and Perfection of the Being adored; a Being that has no knowledge of the Idea the Mind conceives of it, is no more capable of being the object of Religious Worship, than a Deaf Man is

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capable of the pleasure of Sounds, or a Blind Man of discerning Colours.

Nor is it any excuse to say, that the Worship given immediately to the Image, does ultimately terminate upon God ; for God has the same Right to determine of the Nature, Manner, and Circumstances of Worship, and to declare what is, and what is not his Worship, as he has to prescribe and limit the object of Worship ; and if he has forbid us to Worship him by an Image, and declared such Worship to be Idolatry, it is as evident, that the Intention of the Votary cannot alter the nature of such a Worship, as it is evident, that God cannot be deceived nor mistaken about the Nature and Circumstances of the Worship he requires from us.

SECT. VII. And therefore, notwithstanding all the Labour and Zeal of the Council of *Nice*, to dress out their Doctrine of Image-Worship, and the Skill and Arts of *Adrian*, Bishop of *Rome*, to soften and refine it, it is certain, it met with mighty opposition through the whole Christian Church ; and more especially in the *West* : And the Churches of *England* had not the least share therein ; for though *Baronius* thinks fit to say, that the Worship of Images was brought into *England* by *Austin* the Monk, and in confidence of the truth of that Assertion, has unravelled the Labours of the Monks of *Evesham*, and spoiled the Visions of *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, yet our Historians, who should understand this Matter better, give us a very different Account, and tell us, that the Emperor *Charles the Great*, having sent to *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, a Copy of the Council of *Nice*, (a) *Offa* communicated the same to the *English* Bishops, and that they were exceedingly offended at the proceeding of the Council of *Nice*, for what they had determined concerning the Worship of Images, declaring it to be contrary to the Faith, and a Doctrine to be abhorred by the Catholick Church.

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(a) Epist.
Carol. M.
Concil. Tom. 7.
Col. 1731. Ed.
Labbe.

Nor did their resentment stop here, but they procured *Alcuinus* to write against the Worship of Images, and owned the Work when it was finished ; and in their Names caused it to be sent to *Charlemaign*.

Thus *M. Westminster* relates this Matter in the Year seven hundred ninety three : “ *Charles the Great*, King
“ of

Anno 793. Carolus Rex Francorum misit librum Synodalem ad Britanniam, in quo veræ fidei multa reperta sunt obviantia, & eo maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum unanimi assertione est definitum imagines adorari debere quod omnino Ecclesia Catholica execratur. Contra quod Albinus scripsit Epistolam, ex autoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter dictatam, illamque cum eodem Synodali libro, in persona Episcoporum, ac principum idem Albinus ad regem attulit Gallicanum.

M. Westmonast. Anno 793.

Hovedeni Annal. par. priore fol. 232. n. 50. Carolus Rex Francorum scripsit Synodalem librum ad Britanniam sibi à Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro (heu pro dolor) multa inconvenientia, & veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime quod pene omnium Orientalium Doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum, vel eo amplius Episcoporum unanimi assertione confirmatum fuerit imagines adorari debere, quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur.

(a) Dunelm.
Decem. Script.
Col. III.

shops and Princes, the same Learned Albinus presented to Charles the French King.

The Accounts of *Hoveden* and *Dunelmensis* (a) are much to the same purpose, distinguished only by the Air of Sorrow and Regret, with which they express the sense they had of the unhappy Miscarriage of that Council.

And it is not without ground that it is thought, that the Zeal of the *English* Church, assisted by the Labours of *Alcuinus*, were greatly instrumental in confirming *Charles the Great*, and the *French* and *German* Bishops in the same Orthodox Judgment; and that it gave occasion to the calling of the Council of *Francfort*, by which the Doctrine of Image-Worship, established by the Council of *Nice*, was condemned.

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SECT. VIII. This Work of *Alcuinus* has had the misfortune to be lost, or at least not to be published, amongst the other Writings of that Learned Author; and this has given occasion to some, who do not like the Subject of it, to question whether it ever had a Being; and the Council of *Francfort* has had the same Fate, and probably for the same reason too: Yet, after all, *Baronius*, (b) who never wants precaution, when the Honour of the Church of *Rome* requires it, owns the truth of that Council, and *Monsieur Labbe* has published the Canons of it (c). *Mezeray*, in the Life of *Charlemaign*, carries this Matter yet further, and saith, that the Council of *Francfort* consisted of the Bishops of *Germany* and *France*, and of the greatest part of *Italy*; and that it was

(b) Baron.
Annal. An.
794. N. 40.

(c) Concil.
Tom. 7. Col.
1057.

so considerable, that it might be called the *Western Council* (a); but *Monsieur du Pin* saith, it was esteemed in *France* a *General Council*, and consisted of three hundred Bishops (b).

And one who considers the Writers, to whom we owe the Account of this Work of *Alcuinus*, the Ages they lived in, and the Doctrines which then prevailed, will see as little reason to doubt of the Zeal of the *English Church*, in opposing the Worship of Images, as *Baronius* did to doubt of the Council of *Francfort*; and the truth is, these particulars seem incapable of separation, for next to a Council of their own, the Council of *Francfort* seems to be the best evidence of the present sense of the *English Church*.

Nor will this appear strange, when it is considered, that the *Germans* owe their Conversion to the *English Nation*; and that *Boniface*, an *English man* by Birth, and the first Archbishop of *Mentz*, and by whose Zeal and Conduct the *German Church* was first settled, was martyred but about forty Years before that Council; and that some *English Bishops* are thought to have been present at this Council (c): But by the Epistle of *Charles* to *Elipandus*, Bishop of *Toledo* in *Spain*, its past all doubt, that some of the *English Clergy* were present therein; amongst whom was *Alcuinus*, who had been bred under *Egbert*, Archbishop of *York*, but was never Archbishop of *York* or *Tours*, as the *Utrecht Historian* pretends, (d) but was, about this time, Abbot of Saint *Martin's* in *Tours*, and the great Minister in all the Affairs of the Church under *Charles the Great*, by whom the Council of *Francfort* was convened.

And it is not unlikely, that the Canons of that Council were drawn up by the hands of *Alcuinus*; but this is certain, that he was imployed by this Council to justify the Sentence which in the first Canon of this Council was pronounced against the Heresy of *Felix*, Bishop of *Urgill* in *Spain*, who asserted *CHRIST* to be only the adopted Son of *GOD*; and it is not unlikely, that he had the penning of that Epistle upon this Subject, sent by the Council of *Francfort*, and *Charles the Great* to the Bishops of *Spain* (e). If we add to this, the Account of *Uspersensis* (f), that the Authority of the second Council of *Nice* was universally rejected, there will

(a) Mezeray
Charlemaig.
pag. 114.

(b) Eccl. Hist.
Cent. 8. pag.
15.

(c) Spanhem.
Introd. ad Hist.
Tom. 2. p. 745.

(d) Hedæ.
Hist. Ultraject.
pag. 38.

(e) Concil.
Tom. 7. Col.
1032 & 1048.
(f) Uspersg.
Chron. An.
793. pag. 176.

(a) Mezeray
Life Charlem.
pap. 114.

appear ground enough, notwithstanding all the Artifices that have been made use of to deny the being, or pervert the sense of the Council of *Francfort*, not only to conclude with *Mezeray* (a), that the Fathers in that Western Council disdained to acknowledge the Authority of the Council of *Nice*, and rejected the Adoration of Images in all respects and manners, and that *Charlemaign* wrote a Book to oppose it; but also, that the Worship of Images was at this time rejected by the *French*, *German*, and *English* Churches; and leave the Authority of *Hoveden*, *Dunelmensis*, *M. Westminster*, unquestioned, in the Account they give us of the opposition made by the *English* Church to the Worship of Images.

(b) Mariana
Hist. Spain.
Lib. 7. cap. 5.

(c) Ibid.

And what is said of *Claudius*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, Bishop of *Turin*, who lived in the Court of the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius*, immediate Successor to *Charlemaign*, a Prelate in great Reputation for his Learning, and who not only wrote against the Worship of Images, (b) but, as *Mariana* says of him, affirmed, that they ought to be cast out of Churches, (c) is enough to shew, that the *French* did not quickly give up their aversion to the Doctrine of Image-Worship.

Anno
793.

(d) Concil.
Tom. 7. Lab.
Col. 603.

SECT. IX. The Doctrine of Reliques, published by the second Council of *Nice*, seems no less surprizing and unaccountable, than that of Image-Worship; for in the fourth Canon it is not only required, that such Churches as had been Consecrated without Reliques, should, with the solemnity of Publick Prayers, have Reliques introduced, and deposited therein; but it is also decreed, that such Bishops should be deposed, as in time coming presumed to consecrate new Churches without Reliques, (d) a Doctrine that in time let a thousand Superstitions into the Church, and opened the way to infinite Frauds and Impostures; and such as the Blessed Saints themselves, if they have any knowledge of the state of things below, could not but look upon with the utmost detestation and abhorrence.

But though this of *Nice* be the first Canon of this kind, yet it seems probable, the superstitious Opinions of Reliques had, for some time before been growing up in the Church, for somewhat above an Age before the fore said Council of *Nice*. The sixth Canon of the Council of *Braccar* in *Spain*, held about the Year 675, takes

takes notice of, and forbids a very odd and unaccountable Honour which some *Spanish* Bishops paid to the Reliques of Saints, who, in their Processions, caused the Reliques to be hung about their own Necks, and being thus adorned, caused themselves to be carried in Chairs, by their Deacons in their Surplices, (a) and before that, in the beginning of the same Century, we find Gregory *the Great* appointing the depositing of Reliques in Churches (b); but the necessity thereof, to give validity to the Consecration of Churches, and the Penalty for the neglect thereof, are wholly owing to the Council of *Nice*. And the Practices which hence ensued, were such as the Reasons on which the Constitutions of that Council were founded did naturally lead Men into.

(a) *Concil.
Tom. 6. Col.
565.*

(b) *Greg. Ep.
Lib. 9. Ep. 71.*

For the Doctrine of Reliques having now something that looked like the Authority of the Church impressed upon it, searching for the Remains of such as had suffered Martyrdom, or were upon other Accounts esteem'd Saints, begun about this time to be a very fashionable and prevailing piece of Devotion.

And the Monks, who were ever very forward in all the Grimaces and appearances of Holiness, which were likely to charm the common People, and acquire to themselves Wealth, or the reputation of Holiness, run so readily into this kind of Devotion, that *Charles the Great* takes notice of their running up and down with the Bones, and other Reliques of the Saints; and under the umbrage of this kind of Zeal, using all indirect means to gain Wealth to themselves (c); and in the fifth, sixth, and seventh Capitularies gives particular Directions to his Bishops to suppress those their wicked Practices (d).

(c) *Capit. Carol. M. Concil.
Tom. 7. Col.
1186.*

(d) *Ibid.*

However, this kind of Devotion grew up apace, and History is every where full of the wonderful Discoveries of the Bodies of Saints, from this time downward; and for the most part, the honour of those Discoveries fell upon the Monks; and the Churches of *England* had too great a share in this practice.

SECT. X. For about this time King *Offa* pretending that, by a Vision, the place where the Body of Saint *Alban* lay, was discovered to him (e), to give the better reputation to his Dream, caused the Archbishop of *Lichfield*, *Humbert*, together with two of his Suffragans, *Ceolwulf*

Anno
793.

(e) *Vit. Offa.
M. Paris,
pag. 26.*

(a) Ibid.

Ceolwulf Bishop of *Lindsey*, and *Unwona* Bishop of *Leicester*, to meet him at *St. Alban's*, in order to search for the Reliques of that Saint (a). Superstition and Curiosity drew together great Crowds to attend this Solemnity, where, after all the Ceremony and Devotions the occasion deserved, the Reliques of that Holy Man were, according to the Vision, said to be found the first of *August*, in the six and thirtieth of that King's Reign: And, if there be any credit to be given to this Account, after the Bones of that Holy Man had rested 507 Years (b) in his Grave, they were taken up; and that they might be deposited again with greater Honour, a Shrine was prepared with all the advantages that Wealth and Art could give it, made of Gold, and beset with Pearl, and therein the Remains of the Martyr were deposited; great Devotions paid to the Reliques, and, as it is pretended, many Miracles wrought by them.

(b) Ibid.

And to perpetuate the Memory hereof, that Prince, by the Advice of his Council, begun the Monastery of *St. Alban's*, to the Memory of that Saint; and having endowed it with great Wealth, and granted great Immunities to it: To consummate the Honour he intended to his new Foundation, he went away to *Rome*, and from Pope *Adrian* obtained the confirmation of the Privileges he had granted; and in particular, of his exemption of his Monastery from the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese.

(c) *Vit. Offin.*
M. Paris.
pag. 27.

And to add still greater luster to their Founder, or his new Foundation, the same Writer tells us, whilst *Offa* continued at *Rome*, that he took occasion to visit the School which had been erected there for the Education of the *English*: And, for the better support thereof, granted a yearly Charity of a Penny from every House in the Kingdom of *Mercia* (c), which, in memory of the 'foresaid Discovery, he appointed to be paid on the first of *August*; and this being the Day called *St. Peters ad vincula*, it was from hence that payment in time acquir'd the Name of *Peter-Pence*.

(d) *Pol. Virg.*
Anglor. Hist.
Lib. 4. pag. 89.
N. 40.
(e) *Baron.*
Annal. An.
740. N. 18.

In this Donation, *Offa* is said to imitate the Charity of *Ina*, a King of the *West-Saxons*, (d) but the time both of the one and the other, are reported so different by our Historians, and the Accounts thereof so uncertain and confused, that *Baronius* (e) is forced to fetch his Account

Account of this Affair, from *Polidore Virgil*; who was indeed a Collector of this Charity, but lived not till above seven hundred Years after the pretended grant of it.

But though there is not ground enough to ascertain the time when these Donations were first made, there is no doubt but a Charity was granted by the *English* Princes, which in time extended to the *English* Nation; and the reason of this Charity ceasing, by those noble and munificent Provisions for Learning, which for some Ages have been the peculiar Glory of *England*, the Bishops of *Rome* took this Charity to themselves; and hence, according to the way of speaking, which *Hildebrand* first taught the Flatterers of the *Roman* Greatness, this Charity came in time to be called a Tribute. Upon this ground *Polidore* asserts *England* a Fee of the Papacy: But if *Ina* and *Offa* had given their whole Dominions to the See of *Rome*, those Gifts would not have extended to half the Kingdom of *England*.

SECT. XI. And yet *Polidore* is followed in this fond Opinion by *Baronius* (a); and *Dachary* in his Notes on an Epistle of King *William* the First, seems to make no doubt, that the intention of the 'foreſaid Kings in granting this Charity, was no other, than to render their Kingdoms a Fee of the Papacy, and wonders, that that Prince should refuse to promise Fidelity to the Bishops of *Rome*: (b) nor are these Learned Men singular, but are followed by many others of the same Communion: But after all the pains they have bestowed upon this subject, and the mighty Inferences they have drawn from it, it seems highly probable, that though there was a grant of a Pension from the Crown, there never was any such grant as that of a Penny a House, or any other Charge on the Subjects of *England*, made either by *Offa* or *Ina*, or any other *English* Prince, before the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, about whose Time this manner of paying it was first settled, if I am not mistaken.

Thus much is evident, that if there was any such Charge, *Leo* the Third, the immediate Successor of *Adrian*, to whom this Grant is said to be made, was utterly unacquainted with it; for in his Epistle to *Kenulphus*, King of *Mercia*, wrote about three or four Years after the Death of *Offa*, *Leo* gives a very different Ac-

Anno

794.

(a) Baron.

Annal. An.

740. N. 18.

(b) Lanfranc.
Opera. p. 347.

count of the Charity of that Prince, and saith, that King *Offa* made a Vow at the Synod, wherein the Legates of Pope *Adrian*, *Gregory*, and *Theophilaſt* were present, viz. that of *Calcuith*, that he would send every Year to *Rome* a Mancuse of Silver for every Day in the Year, in all, three hundred sixty five Mancuses for the support of the Poor, and the continuance of Lights in commemoration of the Victories he obtained; and that he intended the like Charity should be continued by his Successors in that Kingdom.

Vestram autem scientes fructificatam in omnibus bonis præcella scientia ad memoriam deducimus, qualiter sanctæ recordationis quod Offa Rex pro victoris regni quam B. Petro auctori suo, & ----- votum vovit eidem Dei Apostolo B. Petro clavigero Regni cælorum, ut per unumquemque annum scilicet quantos dies annus habuerit, tantos Mancusos eidem Dei Apostolo Ecclesiæ nimirum trecenti, sexaginta, & quinque pro alimonia Pauperum, & luminariarum continuatione emittere quod & fecit. Epist. Leonis. Papæ Ang. Sacr. Parte 1. p. 460.

In this which is the earliest and best Account we have of this Affair, there is not one word of a Charge on his Subjects. And the Account of *Afferius* is much to the same effect; for speaking of this Charity, about fifty Years after this, he saith, it was three hundred Mancuses, and describes the

(a) *Afferii Annal. XV. Script. p. 158.*

(b) *W. Malmf. de Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. 2.*

disposal thereof as *Leo* does, (a) but saith not one word of a fixed or certain Charge upon any House; yet it appears by the Account of *Malmsbury*, (b) that this was the same Charity which that Historian calls a Tribute; and the same that came in time to be known by the Name of *Peter-Pence*.

(c) *Leges Edouardi Lambard. de Legi pag. 140.*

But whatever is said of a Penny a House, by way of Tribute, in a Law of *Edward the Confessor*, (c) it appears, that when this payment, which in the beginning seems to have been nothing else but a Pension from the Crown, came in time to be fixed upon the Subject, it did not extend to a Charge upon every House, but was a Charge only upon the Proprietors of Houses, and this too for the Houses such Proprietors did inhabit, but not extended to the Houses inhabited by their Tenants or Vassals. And we have the Authority of the same Law to call this Yearly Gift the Alms of the King (d). How or when the foreſaid Usage and way of speaking came to be changed, it is not easy to determine; but one who well considers the Account that *Baronius* gives of the attempt of Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, to settle the like payment of a Penny a House in the Kingdom of *France*, to answer a Charity pretended to be given about this time by *Charles the Great*, (e) and that but a few Years before the like attempt was made in *Poland*, and was submitted

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Baron. Annal. An. 804. N. 16.*

to

to by the *Poles*, but with great uneasiness and reluctance (a), will see great reason to believe, that the like usage in *England* had the like beginning, and that long after the first grant of this Charity. But whenever the change was introduced, it is very evident, that the *Romish* Agents did in time extend this Charity much beyond the original Grant, and the intention of those who were the first givers of it; and this is so plain, that in the Parliament held at *Carlisle*, in the Year 1306, the thirty fifth of *Edward* the First, the Parliament takes notice of, and complains of the change made in that payment, as one of the Grievances of the *English* Nation. Was there no other, this is evidence enough, that that payment was altered from the original Grant.

(a) Baron.
Annal.
An. 1045. N. 2.

And how greedily soever some Men run away with the contrary Opinion, and thence conclude *England* to be a Fee of the Papacy: That pretence has such visible Marks of Falshood and Vanity, that to every one who knows any thing of the *English* History, to mention is enough to silence and confute it; and yet the Charity and Alms of this kind, given by Princes to the Bishops of *Rome*, is, it may be, the best Plea those Prelates have for the disposal of their Kingdoms; but how trifling and extravagant soever such a Claim may be esteemed in *England*, it makes such a Figure abroad, that the very Learned and Judicious *Monfieur du Pin*, is at some pains to confute it (b), and to prove, that the Bishops of *Rome* did not acquire a Right to dispose the Kingdom of *England* from the forefaid Charities.

(b) Du Pin's
Dissert. de Dis-
ciplin. Antiq.
Dissert. 7.
pag. 566.

SECT. XII. *Offa* had some very valuable Accomplishments; and these so becoming the Dignity and Trust he supported, that *Alcuinus* stiles him the Honour of *Britain*, (c) and tells him, that he exceedingly rejoiced to observe the Noble Passion with which he promoted the Interests of Learning within his Kingdom, which was extinguished in many other places (d); but yet the Accomplishments of that Prince were so alloyed by his Vices, especially those of Ambition and Lust, that *Malmsbury*, and other Monastick Writers, who usually make their Founders Saints, but never fail to make great Allowances for their Faults, say of this Prince, that he had such an equal mixture of Virtue and Vice, that they knew not where to place him, whether amongst the good or bad Princes.

Anno
794.

(c) Alcuini
ad Offin. Reg.
Epist. 38.

(d) Ibid.

Be-

Besides, as by violent courses he had divided the Province of *Canterbury*, and forced his Clergy to submit, and this made a heat and ferment within his Kingdom; so the Force and Fraud he had made use of to enlarge his Dominions had certainly made him Enemies without: And the consideration of his Circumstances, added to this Character, it is not to be wondered if he applied himself to the most likely Methods to cover his Interests, by running into the popular and prevailing Superstition of the Age; and this affords ground to believe, that he was the Founder of the Monastery erected to the Memory of *St. Alban*, that he was a liberal Benefactor to the Bishops of *Rome*, and that out of the Charity he had before devoted to *Rome*, he had added to the endowment of *English* Schools; and that this was the chief ground of the Compliment paid to him by *Alcuinus*; and this gives probability to what is said of his pretence to the discovery of the Bones of *St. Alban* by a Vision; and what is truth in the Story of this Prince is enough to give an Idea of the extravagant Honours which began about this time to be paid to Reliques: And this is the end for which I have laid part of the History of this Prince before the Reader.

Anno
794.

SECT. XIII. But that I may not mislead him, whilst I endeavour to set him right, I must not omit to mind him, that a great part of the foresaid Story seems to be nothing else but fiction; and, if one may be allowed to judge, was forged in the Twelfth Century, to serve the designs of the Monks of *St. Alban*, when they set up their pretence to an Exemption from the Authority of their Bishop. Nor is this a conjecture grounded only on the known Forgeries of this kind, charged on the Monasticks; for it seems very probable, that *Humbert*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, never assumed the Title of Archbishop, that he died several Years before this pretended Council of *Verulam*; and whereas it is said, that the Exemption of the Monastery of *St. Alban*, from the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of the Diocess, was granted in regard to *St. Alban* the first Martyr of the *English*:

It is very evident, that *St. Alban* was not an *Englishman* but a *Briton*, and suffered Martyrdom above two hundred Years before the *English* came into *Britain*; and by

by the long Controversy betwixt the Bishops of *Lincoln*, and the Monastery of *St. Alban*, about the middle of the Twelfth Century, it appears that those Prelates were in possession of their Jurisdiction over that Monastery, till *Adrian* the Fourth granted it an exemption about the Year 1156; and even their pretence to the Reliques of *St. Alban* has been the subject of Controversy; for notwithstanding all the 'foresaid Circumstances, and a Volume contrived about the Year 1170, setting forth the Miracles wrought by the Reliques of that Holy Martyr, in the Abby of *St. Alban's*, yet not only the Monastery of *Ely*, but the City of *Cologne* in *Germany*, and a People in *Denmark* pretended also to be Masters of that Holy Treasure (a); and indeed this is the common Misfortune of Treasures of that kind.

(a) Usserii
Antiq. Eccles.
Britan. pag.
330. 332.

But, after all, there seems no reason to doubt, but that the Remains of a dead Body were taken up about this time, pretended to be those of *St. Alban*, and great Devotions paid to it. And it seems probable, that these diligent searches after the Bodies of Saints, were not the only effect of that Veneration which begun about this time to be paid to their Reliques; but it is very likely, that the Doctrine of Reliques gave occasion to change the ancient Custom of the *English* Church, which never suffered the Bodies of Christians to be buried in Churches; for this Usage was changed, and the burial in Churches introduced the latter end of this Age; and this change probably encreased the Superstition that first introduced it. And, in truth, there was now no more room for the modesty of the first Ages; it was in vain to talk of lessening the Veneration and Sacredness of Holy Places, by making them the Repositories of the Bodies of Holy Men, when Churches themselves were to receive their Consecration from their Reliques; for certainly the Pavement cannot be defiled by the Treasure which consecrates the Altar.

On the other hand, this practice of burying in Churches, which began about this time in *England*, leads us to the Antiquity of the Doctrine which introduced it; for there had been no need of Visions and Miracles to discover the Bodies of Saints buried some Ages before, if the Doctrine of Reliques which the second Council of *Nice* delivered to this Age, had been the ancient Doctrine

of the Church: If this had been the case of Christendom, the Piety of former Ages would doubtless have prevented the Zeal and Labours of the present Age, by taking such care in depositing the Bodies of the Martyrs, Confessors, and Holy Men, that their Sepulchers might have been known without Revelation. And when 'tis considered, how many well-meaning People were deceived by false Reliques, and how many Cheats and Impostures were put upon the World, for want of a certain way to distinguish true from false Reliques, the Carelessness and Inadvertency of the first Ages is never to be excused, but on a supposition and belief, that they were not acquainted with the Doctrine of Reliques, broached by the present Age. But to return,

(a) Malmsh.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. Lib. 1.
fol. 17.

How far this Superstition extended to the Souls of Men departed, an Epistle of *Charles the Great* to *Offa* (a), on the occasion of Pope *Adrian's* Death, and wrote about this time, will make it necessary to inquire.

CHAP. XIV.

Ab Anno 795 ad Annum 800.

SECT. I. *S*ense of the English Church of the state of departed Souls: Their Devotions for the Dead.

II. *Practice of the English at this time much the same as that of the Ancients: Grounds thereof directly opposite to the Doctrine of Purgatory, and praying to Saints.*

III. *Death of Offa: Province of Canterbury reunited: Lichfield ceases to be an Archbishop's See: The reason thereof: Difference amongst Historians about the time and circumstances of that Change.*

IV. *English Bishops complain of imposing the necessity of a Pall, as a burthen and usurpation on their Liberties: The occasion thereof: Shew and assert their ancient Rights.*

V. *English Bishops assert their Right to Consecrate their own Metropolitans.*

VI. Di-

VI, *Division and reunion of the Province of Canterbury : Acts of Civil Power.*

VII. *The Eighth Century concludes with the division of the Empire.*

SECT. I. **T**HE Ignorance and Superstition of the Age would lead one to think, that those who paid such mighty Honours to Bones and Dust, would run into a greater excess of Honour to departed Souls ; yet, for ought appears to the contrary, their Sentiments and Practices at this time, were no other than what were agreeable to the ancient Church in the preceding Age. *Bede* makes mention of the Prayers and Psalms, and other Devotions of the Sisters of the Abby of *Streanshal*, on the Death of their Abbess *Hilda* ; but at the same time he speaks of her, as a Woman of wonderful Sanctity, and of the reception of her Soul into the state of immediate Happiness (a) : The like appears on the Death of that Historian himself (b).

(a) *Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 4. cap. 23.*

(b) *Afferii Annal. XV. Scriptor. pag. 152.*

And the Epistle of *Charles the Great* to *Offa*, upon the occasion of the Death of Pope *Adrian*, shews, that the practice of the *English Church* was still the same, and upon the same foot ; for, on the Death of that Prelate, *Charles* tells that Prince, that to give testimony of his Friendship and Love to *Adrian* Bishop of *Rome*, he had sent a Charity to every Cathedral Church in his Kingdom of *Mercia*, and in that of *Ethelred*, who was at this time King of *Northumberland*, and this was a Surplice or Surcoat, desiring that he would require that Prayers should be made for him, though he did not doubt but that his Soul was at rest.

Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem, de Dalmaticis nostris, vel palliis, ad singulas sedes Episcopales regni vestri, vel Ethelredi direximus in eleemosynam Domini Apostolici Adriani deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis nullam habentes dubitationem, beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem, & dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nostrum charissimum. Malmesbury de Gest. Reg. Ang. Lib. 1. fol.

And the Council of *Calcuith*, Anno 816, (c) directing the Obsequies of Bishops, requires, that upon the Death of a Bishop, for the benefit of his Soul, a tenth part of his Goods should be given to the Poor ; and that upon the notice of his Death, in every Parish, the Congregation should resort to the Church, and sing thirty Psalms for his Soul ; and that every Bishop and Abbot should sing six hundred Psalms, and one hundred and twenty Masses,

(c) *Concil. Brit. Tom. 1. pag. 330.*

Masses, Manumise three Slaves, give three Shillings in Alms, and fast thirty Days.

Anno
795.

(a) Cyprian
Epist. 66. pag.
158. Ed.
Pamel.

SECT. II. Somewhat answerable to this Practice, the Liturgy ascribed to St. *James*, requires the Priest to pray, that God would remember the Souls of all Holy Men, from Righteous *Abel*; but it was that they might rest in his Kingdom, and in the Delights of Paradise: and St. *Chrysostom* and *Cyril* speak of Oblations for the Souls of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs; and St. *Cyprian* speaks of the omission hereof, as a Punishment to one who disobeys the Canon (a); and accordingly, in the Liturgy of St. *Gregory*, and in the Account that *Alcuinus*, who lived at this time, gives of the Offices for the Dead, all the Offices are confined to the Souls of such as departed in the Faith, and rest in Peace; and it is upon this ground, that *Charles the Great* desires the Prayers of the *English* Churches for the Soul of Pope *Adrian*.

But whilst the Ancients thus explained their belief of the Existence and Happiness of departed Souls, and of their Unity and Communion with the Saints, whilst they thus did Honour to the Memories, and glorified God for the Examples of Good Men on Earth, and the Rewards he had laid up for them in Heaven, they have left us no Marks of Purgatory, but founded their Devotions on grounds so contrary, that one would wonder how these Practices came in time to give beginning to it.

And yet it is very probable it was these Practices that afterwards opened a way to that Doctrine, and the Corruptions and Abuses founded upon it: But whilst the *English* Church thus far followed the Ancients in the mighty Honours they paid to Good Men departed this Life, and gave their Alms, and offered their Prayers to God, that he would accelerate the consummation of their Happiness, and accomplish the number of his Elect, we hear nothing yet of praying the Souls of bad Men out of Torments, or bringing Souls from a state of Misery to Happiness, by any Charities or Devotions of the Living; but, on the contrary, the Instances of *Hilda* and *Bede*, the Epistle of *Charles the Great*, and the forefaid Canon of *Celichyth*, shew plainly, that the Persons most renowned for Sanctity, had the greatest share in

in the Offices performed at this time, by the *English Church*, for departed Souls.

And was there no other Argument against the Invocation of Saints, praying for them, and praying to them, are Practices founded upon such opposite Reasons, that this Practice alone in praying for them, is enough to shew, they did not pray to them; and though there are some dark Sayings in the Writers of this and the preceding Age, that in after Times were made use of to colour the Doctrine of Purgatory; yet it is very evident, that in the Canons of *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, it is not only forbid, in the sixty third Canon, to say Mass for the Souls of such Men as laid violent hands on themselves (a), but in the fifty sixth Canon it is declared Blasphemy to say Mass for a wicked Man (b), Doctrines that seem no way to agree with that of Purgatory.

(a) Concil.
Tom. 6. Col.
1877.
(b) Ibid.

SECT. III. Whilst the Affairs of the *English Churches* continued in this posture, *Offa* King of the *Mercians* died, and with him determined the great Designs he had formed; for though a change did not immediately insue, yet in few Years his Successors became Tributaries to the *West-Saxons*; and the Archbishoprick he had erected at *Lichfield* returned to *Canterbury* again. The *Saxon-Chronicle* (c), and the Learned Publisher of the *Anglia Sacra* (d), fix the Death of *Offa*, and consequently the first Movements to the Changes which insued, in the Year 794; but *Baronius* places the coming of that Prince to *Rome* the Year following (e); and which is more, it appears by the Letter of *Charles the Great* to *Offa*, that he survived the Death of Pope *Adrian*, (f) and *Adrian* did not die till the Year 795, for which reasons I have followed *Afferius*, (g) and placed the Death of this Prince in this Year.

(c) Chron.
Saxon. An.
794.
(d) Anglia
Sacra. Pars 1.
p. 430.
(e) Baron.
Annal. An.
795. N. 52.

(f) Malmsb.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. Lib. 1.
fol. 17.
(g) Afferii
Annal. XV.
Script.
p. 154.

He was succeeded by *Egefride*, but he dying within the Year, *Kenulph* succeeded in that Kingdom. *Athelard* was at this time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the room of *Lambertus* deceased, who being a wise and active Prelate, was generally favoured in the pretence he set on foot to have the Kingdom of *Mercia* restored to the Province of *Canterbury*; and though *Adulphus*, Archbishop of *Lichfield* was living, yet *Kenulph*, King of the *Mercians*, was prevailed upon to yield to the Change;

but I cannot ascribe the Success of the Archbishop, as our Historians generally do, wholly to the Zeal and Capacity of that Prelate, though no doubt they had a part in it.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.

796.

(b) Malmsh.

de Gest. Reg.

Ang. Lib. 1.

cap. 5.

For about this time *Kenulphus* had conquered the Kingdom of *Kent*, took *Eadbert* or *Ethelbert*, surnamed *Præn*, the King thereof, Prisoner (a), and placed *Cutbred*, a Tributary Prince in his room (b); and the security of this his new Conquest, made it so necessary to keep the Archbishop and People steady in his Interest, by restoring the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Honour, that one cannot forbear thinking, that *Kenulphus* acted chiefly by considerations of this kind.

Annis

798.

& 799.

(c) Concil.

Brit. Vol. 1.

pag. 237.

SECT. IV. Whilst things were thus carried on in *England*, the designs of *Charlemaign* obliged him to make mighty court to the Bishops of *Rome*; and the Favours he shewed to those Prelates gave such encouragement to the Sentiments first published under his Father *Pipin*, by *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz* (c), that the Metropolitans ought to fetch or send for their Palls from *Rome*, that about this time it began to be pretended, that this obligation extended to *England*; which the *English* Bishops looked upon as an Incroachment, and Usurpation, and Burthen upon them. And *Athelardus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, going to *Rome* about this time, whether upon the occasion of this Usurpation, or in pursuance of it to demand a Pall, or to engage *Leo* the Third, then Pope, in the design to reunite the Province of *Canterbury* is uncertain, but it seems not unlikely, that this new pretence had a great share in that Journey.

(d) Angl. Sar.
Par. 1. p. 461.

For the Synodical Epistle of the *English* Bishops, sent by *Athelardus* to Pope *Leo*, (d) is little else but a Remonstrance, shewing the novelty and unreasonableness of that pretence; for therein they tell that Prelate, that they understood by the History of *Bede*, that their Predecessors knew nothing of the fatigue and drudgery of going to *Rome* for Palls, as of late had been used: That *Austin*, after the Conversion of the *English*, went to the Archbishop of *Arles* to receive Consecration: That during his Life-time he Consecrated his Successor *Laurentius*: That *Mellitus* and *Justus*, the succeeding Archbishops, were likewise Consecrated by *Austin*, and *Paulinus* by *Justus*: That in an Epistle of *Albinus* or *Alcuinus*, to King *Offa*, he had told that Prince,

Prince, that the English Archbishops ought to consecrate each other; and that it was the Duty of the Bishop of Rome, to send a Pall to the Archbishop so consecrated; that this had been practised in the cases of Justus, Paulinus, and Honorius; that it was the Dissentions of Princes which had changed this Usage contrary to the Canons of the Church: And that whilst this Usage continued, the Bishops of Rome practised the Advise of our Saviour, freely ye have received, freely give; and there was no room for Symony.

SECT. V. In this manner did the English Bishops write to Pope Leo, the reason seems to be that before-mentioned: The truth of it is, when this Usage of giving a Pall begun to prevail, about the time of Gregory the Great, that Prelate was so far from making it necessary to an Archbishop, that he himself sent several Palls to several private Bishops, (a) and determined it should only be bestowed on Bishops of singular Merit, and upon their desire (b); and that when it was given, it should be bestowed without any Fees, or charge of the Person to whom it was given. And this was confirmed by a Canon of a Synod held by Pope Gregory in Rome (c); and if this one Canon had been observed, all the other Canons relating to this Usage, might have been spared; and the necessity thereof had been unknown to this Day, if Gregory's Successors had not departed from his Doctrine, and learnt in after Ages to make use of the Pall, as an Artifice to enlarge their Power and enrich themselves; for it was making it thus useful to themselves, that first made it so necessary to the Archbishops of the Western Churches.

But it is plain, by an Epistle of Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, that he had no sooner introduced that Usage into France, but Corruption immediately followed it; and nothing less can be meant by the Insinuation of the English Prelates, when they say, that anciently there was no Symony, and that the Bishops of Rome gave freely; but that the extortion of Money had followed this Usage into England; and it is not unlikely, that this Corruption, and the dangerous pretence which supported it, gave occasion to this Synodical Epistle sent by the English Bishops to Pope Leo.

Annis

798.

799.

(a) Gregor.
Epist. Lib. 7.
Epist. 5.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Concil.
Tom. 5, Col.
1587. Ed. Lab.

But

But whatever the occasion was, that Remonstrance has such Marks of Wisdom and Foresight as could not be expected from Men charmed with the Arts and Superstition of *Rome*, and that had only tasted of the greediness of that See; for by asserting their Right to Consecrate their own Metropolitans, and that their going to *Rome* to demand their Palls was a Novelty and Abuse, they did plainly assert their being a Church free and independant on the Patriarchate of *Rome*; the Consecration, or at least the Confirmation of Metropolitans within their Patriarchate, being ever esteemed the first and distinguishing Right of every Patriarch, a Right too, so essential and inseparable from the Patriarchal Dignity, that *Monsieur du Pin* (a) reproaches the Ignorance of those who pretend to set them apart. I extremely wonder, saith he, that some Men, who confess, that the Bishops of *Rome* had not a Right to consecrate all the Metropolitans of the Western Churches, do yet pretend, that the Bishops of *Rome* were Patriarchs of all the *West*.

(a) *Dissertat. de Antiq. Eccl. Disciplin.* pag. 42.

Besides, the 'foresaid Epistle, which seems to be the Synodical Epistle wrote by *Athelardus* and his Suffragans, and mentioned in the Epistle of *Kenulphus*, King of the *Mercians* (b), *Kenulphus* wrote another Letter upon this occasion, in the Name of his Bishops and Nobility, as well as of himself, wherein he tells Pope *Leo*, that he was informed, that the Division of the Province of *Canterbury* was contrary to the Canons of Pope *Gregory* (c); and blames the See of *Rome* for the share it had in erecting the new Archbishoprick. In answer to which, Pope *Leo*, in a Letter to *Kenulphus*, King of the *Mercians*, and the Nobility and Bishops of *England*, endeavours to excuse the Conduct of Pope *Adrian*, and saith, that that Prelate had not been the doer of it; only at the desire of *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, and several of the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, that Prelate had approved what they had done, and sent a Pall to the new Archbishop (d). And in the same Epistle Pope *Leo* approv'd the Proceedings of *Kenulph*, as *Adrian* had done that of *Offa*.

(b) *Malmsb. de Gest. Reg. Angl. Lib. 1. fol. 16.*

(c) *Ibid.*

(d) *Angliae Sac. Par. 1. p. 460.*

Anno 799. SECT. VI. But though all this Ceremony was paid to these Prelates, it seems evident from *Malmsbury's* Account of these Affairs, that *Offa* erected the new Archbishoprick, and then sent to *Rome* to have the approbation

bation of what he had done; and that *Kenulphus* took the same Method in uniting the divided Province, of whom that Historian saith, that he restored *Athelard* to the ancient Dignity his Predecessor *Lambert* was depriv'd of (a); and the Matter will be still plainer, that his Restoration was the Act of the King, if we may rely on the Authority of the *Saxon-Chronicle*; for what is said of this Prelates holding a Provincial Synod, together with twelve Suffragan Bishops, in the Year 796. (b).

(a) Malmsh.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. Lib. 1.
fol. 15. N. 50.

(b) Chron.
Saxon. An. 796.

For this was two, if not three Years before he went to *Rome* upon that occasion; and it is certain, he could not have half that number of Suffragans, if the Kingdom of *Mercia* was not restored to the Province of *Canterbury*. The Learned Collector of the *British Councils* (c) gives this Council the Title of the Council of *Bacanceld*, and places it in the Year 798; and amongst the Subscribers of this Council gives us the Name of *Adulphus*, formerly Archbishop of *Lichfield*, subscribing as a private Bishop, this would clear this Affair beyond dispute, if it could be relied upon, because it appears from hence, that *Athelardus* had recovered his Right, and the Bishop of *Lichfield* given up his pretence, by appearing at the Synod of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, owned himself his Suffragan; and all this before the Bishop of *Rome* was so much as let into the knowledge of this Affair: But as that Learned Writer well observes, it seems most probable, that this Council is mistaken for that held at *Cloveshoe* some Years after: However, what *Malmshbury* ascribes to *Kenulphus* is no more than what he saith was intended, and would have been accomplished by his Predecessor *Egfride*, if Death had not prevented him (d).

(c) Council.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 317.

(d) Malmsh.
de Gest. Pontif.
Lib. 1. fol. 113.

Anno
800.

SECT. VII. This Century concluded with an Affair, which had a mighty influence on the succeeding Ages; and this was, the translation of the *Roman Empire* to the *Franks*. *Charles Martel*, the Founder of the *Caroline Line*, and to whose Loyns *France* owes its Kings, and the most considerable Princes of the *West* the best of their Blood, was above sixty Years before only Mayre, and Duke of the *French*; from which Station the Family rose by such quick and hasty Steps, that his Son *Pipin*, by the Trains *Charles* had laid, possessed himself of the Crown of *France*, about the Year 751; and his Grand-

son *Charlemaign*, after he had added *Germany* to his Dominions, was, on *Christmas-Day*, this Year, crowned and proclaimed the *Roman Emperor*, and his Son *Pipin* King of *Italy*.

This Prince had, some Years before, been posselt of *Rome*, and all that remained of the Empire in *Italy*, and disposed and ordered all the Affairs thereof, as if it had been his own Dominion, but contented himself with the Title of *Patritian*, and perpetual Consul and Tribune, till his time came to possess himself of the Title of Emperor. The pretence of the *Romans*, and Pope *Leo* was, the horrible Wickedness of the Empress *Irene*, who, about two or three Years before this, had put out the Eyes of her own Son, the Emperor *Constantine*, and posselt her-self of the Empire (a).

(a) Eutropii
Rev. Roman.
Lib. 23. pag.
332.

But how wicked soever that Princess was, it appears, that after his advance to the Empire, *Charlemaign*, in hopes to unite the two Empires, or at least to get possession of the Eastern Empire, sent to propose a Match betwixt himself and that Princess: And this Affair was so far advanced, that *Charles's* Embassadors were at *Constantinople* to conclude it, when that Princess was deposed, and banished by *Nicephorus* (b); this put an end to this Treaty, but gave beginning to another, by which it was, about two Years after, agreed, that *Charles* should quietly enjoy the Title of Emperor, and all the Dominions belonging thereunto in *Italy* to the Rivers of *Aufidus*, and the *Vulturnia* (c).

(b) Eutropii
Rev. Roman.
Lib. 23. p. 334.

(c) Mezeray
Life Charlem.
Anno 802.

But however unsuccessful this Treaty with the Empress was, the Treaty is enough to shew, that the Bishop and People of *Rome* acted upon other Views; and that the Wickedness of that Princess was only a cover to somewhat else: And he who considers how *Charles*, and the Bishop and People of *Rome*, found their several Accounts in this Transaction, will not be long to seek for the true reason of it; and a little time will shew us of what consequence this Change was to the Churches, as well as the Kingdoms of the *West*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Ab Anno 800 ad Annum 816.

SECT. I. **R** *Evolutions in the State, with which this Century begins: The effects thereof on the Affairs of the Church.*

II. *Council held at Cloveshoe: Reunion of the Province of Canterbury confirmed therein. Monasteries forbid to choose Seculars for their Governours: Reflections on the Subscriptions to that Decree.*

III. *Councils of Cloveshoe and Bacanceld confounded: The aforesaid Constitution ascribed to both: Reflections thereon.*

IV. *Mr. Wharton's Judgment of the Council of Bacanceld: That of Spelman: Objections against it.*

V. *Constitution of Leo not subscribed at the Council of Cloveshoe: Conjecture at the Reason and Occasion of the Subscriptions ascribed to the Council of Cloveshoe.*

VI. *Athelardus, Archbishop of Canterbury, dies immediately after the re-union of his Province: The Bishop of Lichfield continues his Pall: Alcuinus's sense thereof, and terms of Accommodation offered to him.*

VII. *Eardulphus, King of Northumberland, said by Baronius to be restored by Pope Leo: The Account our Historians give of that Affair.*

VIII. *Baronius contradicted by the Foreign Historians: His Inferences from the Charity of Offa, and Restoration of Eardulphus equally groundless: The folly thereof.*

IX. *Pope Leo restored by Charlemaign: Baronius has not the same sense thereof, as of the Restoration of the King of Northumberland: Contrary inference from them by the favourers of the Papal Power.*

X. *Council of Calcuith meets: Canons thereof.*

XI. *Decreeing part of this Council in the name of the Bishops: In the ancient English Councils Names not subscribed, but signed with the sign of the Cross: Their Pattern taken from the ancient Church.*

XII. Coun-

XII. Councils and Charters wherein Monasticks concerned, different from other Councils: Instances thereof not to be all pronounced Impostures.

XIII. Conjecture at the reason of this difference in the forms of those Assemblies which pass by the Names of Councils.

Anno
801.

SECT. I. **T**His Age begun with a turn of Affairs in England, not unlike to that in the Empire, with which the last Century concluded; for the Heptarchy which had now continued two or three Ages, in the beginning of this Age determined in the Monarchy of *Egbert*, a King of the *West-Saxons*: The Heptarchy had been subject to the Inconveniences that ever attend little Principalities, contiguous, and ill distinguish'd; and this had frequently changed the Boundaries of these Kingdoms, in proportion to the Power and Conduct of the Princes that possessed them; and the several Princes had the Titles of Monarchs, and Tributaries in their turns; but the Title of Monarch, which ever waited on Success, was, for that reason, ever fleeting and uncertain, and shifted from one Kingdom to another, but was never Hereditary till this Century.

In the latter end of the last Century, *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, a great and powerful Prince, by continual War impoverish'd and broke the Forces of the neighbouring Kingdoms, and preserved the Title of Monarch to himself, during his Life-time; and his Successor in that Kingdom maintained that Post, till *Egbert*, a King of the *West-Saxons*, overcame him in Battle, and snatch'd that Title from his hands. *Egbert* was great Nephew to *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*; and for this reason *Brihtric*, his immediate Predecessor, was jealous of him; and this forced him first to fly to the Court of *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*; but thinking himself not safe there, he fled into *France*, where he continued for some time, under the Protection of *Charlemaign*.

Anno
822.

But *Brihtric*, King of the *West-Saxons*, dying not long after, a way was opened to his return; for upon his Death *Egbert* was called home, and advanced to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*; and no sooner was he well settled in his Kingdom, but he turned his Arms against

against the *Britons*; afterwards overcoming *Beornwulfus*, King of the *Mercians*, in the Battel of *Hellendune*, about the Year 823, (a) he quickly made that Kingdom, together with those of the *Northumbrians* and *East-Angles*, Tributary, and united the other Kingdoms to his own.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. Ann.
823.

The Church could not but have a great part in these Changes and violent Revolutions of the State; and the Depredations of the *Danes*, and other Northern People, who for some time had infested the Coasts of *England* and *France*, by destroying of Monasteries and Churches, and massacring the Clergy and Monks, whenever in their Power, added still to the Disquiet and Calamities the Churches of *England* suffered in the beginning of this Century.

SECT. II. Before the War betwixt *Egbert* the *West-Saxon*, and the *Mercians* broke out, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* returned from *Rome*, with Pope *Leo's* Approbation of what had been done in *England*, in the restoration of the See of *Canterbury*, to its ancient Dignity (b); and, taking the advantage of the present Peace, a Provincial Synod was called, and met at *Cloveshoe*, in the Year 803, (c) where the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury* being met together, *Athelard*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, presided as their Metropolitan; and having first related the Proceedings of King *Offa*, in dividing the Province, he, in the Name of the Council, denounced the heavy Wrath and Indignation of Almighty God against all Princes or Prelates, that should presume, for the time to come, to invade the Rights, or lessen the Privileges of the Archbishops or See of *Canterbury* (d).

Anno
803.

(b) Epist.
Leonis Concil.
Britan. Vol. 1.
pag. 322.
(c) Concil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 324.

(d) Ibid.

In several Editions of the Councils, immediately after this Council, there is subjoined a Constitution, intituled, a Decree of Archbishop *Athelard*, concerning the Liberty or Privileges of Religious Houses in the choice of their Governours, being, in effect, the same with a late Constitution of Pope *Leo*, forbidding the Monasticks to choose Secular Persons for their Governours. This Council is said to be held the fourth of the Ides of *October*, the eleventh of the Indiction, and in the Year 803, and to be subscribed by twelve Bishops, besides the Archbishop, nineteen Abbots, thirty eight Presbyters, one Archdeacon, and two Deacons; and in the Col-

lections of *Spelman*, and *Labbe*, the World is obliged with their Names.

Yet one has much ado to forbear thinking, that the Affair of the See of *Canterbury*, and the confirming the Constitution of Pope *Leo*, were not the Product of one Assembly; and that the Subscriptions, if not the Work, of a later hand, rather contain the Names of such of the Clergy, as in time received the Constitution of *Leo*, than the Names of the Persons who were present in this Council.

Anno
803.

SECT. III. All that seems certain, and to be relied upon, is, that about the beginning of this Century, the Kingdom of *Mercia* was restored to the Province of *Canterbury*; and that the 'foresaid Constitution was about this time received by the *English* Church; but when this is said, all that remains is attended with Difficulties that are not to be accounted for, especially what is said of the 'foresaid Constitution of *Leo*, and the Subscriptions said to be made thereunto at the Council of *Clovishoe*; for the *Saxon Chronicle* tells us of a Council called by *Ethelard*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 796 (a); wherein the 'foresaid Constitution of *Leo* was received by that Prelate, and twelve Suffragan Bishops; and yet it appears from the same Authority, (b) that the Kingdom of *Kent* was that very Year laid waste, and the King thereof taken Prisoner by *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and carried away, had his Eyes put out, and his Hands cut off.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.
796.
(b) Ibid.

And if there was no other Objection against that Council, one would think the Confusions such a War must necessarily occasion, should leave no room for an Assembly of this kind; nor does that Assembly seem better to agree with *Leo's* accession to the Chair, than to the present state of Affairs in *England*; for upon inquiry it appears, that *Leo* was but that Year, or, at the most, the middle of the Year preceeding, advanced to the Papacy, and could not have time to make and transmit this Constitution to *England*. The Learned Collector of the *British* Councils, calls that Council the *Council of Bacanceld*, and places it in the Year 798.

That Council takes no notice of the Affairs of the Province of *Canterbury*, but in what respects the Constitution ascribed to *Leo*, that Council is word for word the

the same with that said to be held at *Cloveshoe* about five Years after ; and for the most part the Names of the Subscribers are the same ; but whereas the *Saxon Chronicle* (a) saith, there were only twelve Suffragan Bishops present at the Council of *Baconceld*, in the Subscriptions to this Council we have the Names of seventeen Bishops subscribed, which are four or five more than ever there were at one time within the Province of *Canterbury* ; and three or four of the Bishops who are said to subscribe this Council, had been dead at least forty or fifty Years before ; and this, as Mr. *Wharton* observes, was the case of *Daniel*, *Fothere* and *Acca* (b) : To which may be added, that those three Bishops lived together in the beginning of the Eighth Century ; *Daniel* was made Bishop of *Winchester* about the Year 705, and died about the Year 745 ; *Fothere* was made Bishop of *Sherborn* about the Year 710, and died about the Year 737 ; *Acca* was made Bishop of *Hagulstad* about the Year 709, and died about the Year 739 ; and it is probable, that some of those Bishops whose Names are affixed to this Council, were not Bishops till some Years after, as it is evident, that the above-mentioned died before.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An. 796.

(b) H. Whart.
de Epist. Lond.
pag. 22.

SECT. IV. Upon these grounds, the 'foresaid Council of *Baconceld* is rejected as an Imposture by Mr. *Wharton* (c) : And the Learned Collector thinks it to be the same with that of *Cloveshoe* (d) ; but this conjecture, by subjecting that Council to the Objections against the former, will rather rob us of the Council of *Cloveshoe*, than defend that of *Baconceld* ; besides, whatever is to be said for that Council of *Cloveshoe*, there are certainly some Mistakes in the circumstances thereof ; for whereas it is said to be held in the Year 803, the eleventh of the Indiction, and the fourth of the Ides of *October*, it is manifest, that the fourth Ides of *October*, the eleventh of the Indiction, falls in with the Year 802, and the fourth Ides of *October* in the Year 803, is the twelfth of the Indiction.

Anno
803.

(c) H. Whart.
de Epist. Lond.
pag. 22.

(d) Concil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 318.

Besides, according to the Judicious Author of the *Fasti*, *Werebert*, Bishop of *Leicester*, one of the Subscribers of this Council, was not made Bishop of *Leicester* till the Year 807 ; and *Almund*, Bishop of *Winchester*, not till the Year following ; and *Osmund*, Bishop of *London*, not till ten Years after this Council ; and whereas

Weobthun

Weobthun subscribes as Bishop of *Selsey*, it appears that *Osa* or *Bosa* was Bishop of that See in the Year 803 ; and the 'forefaid Judicious Writer places the Succession of *Wehthun*, or *Weobthun*, in the Year 873, which is seventy Years after this Council. To this may be added, the observation of the Learned Collector on this Council, that the manner of subscribing is what he had never seen in any Provincial Council (a).

(a) Concil.
Brit. Tom. 1.
pag. 326.

Anno
803.

SECT. V. Upon the whole Matter, although there seems no reason to doubt, that there was such an Assembly as the Council of *Cloveshoe* about this time, by which the union of the Province of *Canterbury* was approved, and that the Constitution of *Leo* was also received by the *English* Church about this time ; yet there is great reason to think, that these two things, however laid together, were not the issue of one Assembly ; and that the Subscriptions, which pass under the Name of Subscriptions to the Council of *Cloveshoe* (if not a work of later date) were the Subscriptions of several Diocesan Synods, to the Constitution of Pope *Leo*, either by design, or a mistake in the Copies, misapplied to the Council of *Cloveshoe*. And as the Preamble to those Subscriptions shew they are limited to that particular Constitution, and seems to justify this Conjecture ; so likewise the subscribing of the Bishops, without any regard to seniority of Consecration, as was customary in all Provincial Synods ; but every Bishop, together with the Abbots and Clergy of his Diocess by themselves, seem no other way to be accounted for, but by a supposing that the said Subscriptions were made in their respective Dioceses, and at several times, according as that Constitution by degrees prevailed.

(b) Bed. Epist.
ad Egbert.
pag. 26.

But whenever this Constitution was received, the reason thereof may possibly give us some light into the present state of the Monasticks. It appears by the Testimony of *Bede*, (b) that it was an usual practice in the beginning of the last Century, not only for the Nobility and better sort to build or turn their Houses into Monasteries, and preside over those for Men, as their Wives did over those for Women ; and that by these means Monasteries became Hereditary ; but also that it was usual for Princes to give to their Courtiers and Governours of Provinces, the government of such Foundations,

dations as by their dedication to Retirement and Devotion seem more properly to have answered the modern Notion of Monasteries: And as it thus appears, that these were the usual practices of the two preceding Ages, the reason of the fore said Constitution leads one to believe, that these Usages were hitherto continued in *England*, and consequently, that the *Benedictine* Rule so much magnified by after Ages was not yet received, at least not observed in *England*.

And by the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* (a) it appears that this was the case of *France*, and this and other Western Nations, at least that several Monasteries were govern'd by Secular, and some by Military Persons; and it seems evident, that the intention of this Constitution was to suppress this practice, and consequently those who had been bred Monasticks, had so visible an Interest in the execution of a Canon, designed to shut out all others from the Preferments they were willing to keep to themselves, that this consideration would almost tempt one to think, that the inconsistency of Names and Dates had the same beginning with the like Errors, visible in some of the Charters ascribed to this Age, and was a Work of later Times, which, to add Pomp and Reputation to this Constitution, added Names to it, and ascribed it to the Council of *Cloveshoe*. And the Errors in the Date of the said Council, may in the same manner be accounted for.

(a) *Concil.*
Tom. 7. Col.
1186. Ed. Lab.

Having said all this, partly to shew how difficult it is to make a true Judgment of the Forms and Circumstances of the *English* Councils in this Age, from the imperfect remains we have of them; and partly to prevent the Objections which from the fore said Subscriptions seem chargable on the Council of *Cloveshoe*: It is time to return, and observe the course of Affairs which ensued the breaking up of that Council, and the reunion of the Province of *Canterbury*.

SECT. VI. The Province of *Canterbury* being resettled, *Athelardus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had the least share in the Honour which his Successors are indebted to him for, for he died some time in the last, or in the beginning of this Year, whilst *Adulphus*, late Archbishop of *Lichfield*, survived the Mortification he suffered under; and is, it may be, the only Example in

Anno
804.

Story, of one who in his own time lived to see a private See raised to an Archbishoprick, and reduced to its first state again; however, for ought appears to the contrary, without any struggle or noise, he quietly parted with the Honour he had enjoyed for ten or twelve Years; and by his Conduct in this Affair, has left behind him some Marks of the Piety and particular Merit *Alcuinus* ascribes to him (a); and it seems not unlikely, that he continued to enjoy the Honour *Alcuinus* solicited for in his behalf.

(a) *Alcuini Epist. Malmf. de Gest. Pont. Lib. I. fol. 113.*

Alcuinus seems to have had a particular Friendship, both with *Athelardus* and *Adulphus*; and therefore in an Epistle of his to *Athelardus*, at the same time that he congratulates with that Prelate the restoration of his See to its ancient Honour, he offers at terms to adjust the Controversy betwixt those two Prelates, wherein he proposes, that the Consecration of the Bishops of *Mercia* should be restored to *Athelardus*, but that *Adulphus* should still continue the use of the Pall (b), which had been sent him by Pope *Adrian*: So little was *Alcuinus*, though it may be the greatest Man this Age had bred, acquainted with the extravagant Doctrine of *Innocent* the Third, and the later Canonists, who have told the World, that the Pall is a Mark and Ensign of the plenitude of Apostolick Power (c), and that it carries with it the Title and Functions of an Archbishop, that he thought *Adulphus* might continue the use of the Pall, though he parted with the Character and Functions of an Archbishop.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. 8. cap. 3.*

Accordingly Pope *Leo* confirmed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Power of consecrating and confirming the Bishops of *Mercia*, (d) but left *Adulphus* undisturb'd in the possession of his Pall, well-knowing, that when those peculiar and distinguishing Rights of a Metropolitan were taken away, he must of necessity become a private Bishop, though he continued the possession and use of his Pall.

(d) *Baron. Annal. An. 796. N. 33.*

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SECT. VII. The Wars and Confusions in the State had made a longer interruption in the History of the *English* Church, if *Baronius*, who had so particular Sagacity in finding out every thing that might tend to the Honour of the Bishops of *Rome*, had not furnished us with an Example of the great Power those Prelates had over

over the *English* Princes in restoring *Eardulphus*, a King of the *Northumbrians* to his Kingdom, in the compass of this Year, an Argument of the Power of the Bishops of *Rome*, which that Learned Prelate exceedingly magnifies, and lays a great deal of stress upon: And thus much appears certain, that that Prince was forced out of his Kingdom about the Year 806, (a) and that a Treaty was set on foot by *Charlemaign* and Pope *Leo* the Third, for his Restoration; and that several Letters passed on this subject betwixt them and *Cenulphus* King of the *Mercians*, *Eanbald* Archbishop of *York*, and *Wado* a great Man amongst the *Northern English* (b), and that both *Charles* and *Leo* sent their Legates into *England* upon this occasion.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An. 806.

(b) Epist.
Leonis Concil.
Tom. 7. Col.
1119 & 1123.

But the Epistles of Pope *Leo* to *Charlemaign*, which give the best Light we have into this Affair, say not one syllable of the restoration of that Prince, or of the Issues of the Treaties relating thereunto; nor do we find his Restoration mentioned by any *English* Writer, but on the contrary they agree, for the most part, in affirming a state of Anarchy and Confusion in the Kingdom of *Northumberland* about this time; according to *Malmsbury*, (c) for thirty three Years, commencing from the Murther of *Ethelred*, about the Year 794, and not ending till *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, about the Year 827, possessed himself of that Kingdom. *Harpsfield* follows *Malmsbury* in this Opinion (d).

(c) Malmsb.
de Gest. Reg.
Angl. Lib. 1.
fol. 14.

(d) Harpsfield
Hist. Eccles.
Secul. 8. cap. 21.
(e) Rerum Angl.
glican. Script.
Col. Gal. Vol. 1.
pag. 141.

Agreeably hereunto the Chronicle of *Mailros*, (e) which takes notice of the expulsion of *Eardulph*, says, that Kingdom continued without a King for many Years. *M. Westminster* saith, that *Eardulphus* was driven out of his Kingdom by *Alwold*, who succeeded him in that Kingdom; but dying about two Years after *Eandredus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty two Years (f), so little were our Historians acquainted with the Affair *Baronius* makes such a noise about.

(f) M. Westm.
Flor. Hist. An.
810. pag. 153.

SECT. VIII. But if our Historians are mistaken, and it should be allowed, that this Prince was restored, the Foreign Writers, who mention this Affair, give Pope *Leo* so little a share in the restoration of that Prince, that that Prelate would have been no great loser by it, if the Story had been quite forgotten. *Aventinus* saith, that upon the expulsion of that Prince, he came to the Court of *Charlemaign*, and gave him an Account of what

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what had befallen him, and from thence went in Pilgrimage to *Rome*; and that, after his return from *Rome*, the Embassadors of the Emperor and Pope accompanied him into *England* (a). The Account of *Ado Viennensis* is to the same effect (b).

(a) Aventin.
Annal. Boior.
Lib. 4. pag.
210. N. 30.
(b) Adonif.
Chron. An.
809. pag. 234.

This is the most favourable Account on the side of Pope *Leo*; but, on the contrary, *Sigebert*, without taking any notice of Pope *Leo*, saith, that *Eardulphus*, King of the *Northumbrians*, was restored to his Country and Kingdom, by the Emperor *Charles the Great* (c): In short, the least thing that can be said of that Prince is, that he had an equal share in the good Offices done to the King of *Northumberland*; and yet no body had ever Vanity enough to attempt to prove from thence, that *England* was at this time a Fee of the Empire.

(c) Sigebert
Chronicon.
An. 808.

And indeed, if Titles were to be founded on the good Offices of Princes and States to one another, this would make such confusion of Titles, that the Princes of Christendom would be in a much worse condition than their Subjects; and yet whilst this is thought a Folly of such a monstrous size, as can never enter into a Man's Head, till he has first parted with his Reason to make room for it: So great a Man as *Baronius*, from the Charity of *Offa*, asserts the *English* Kings Feudatories to the Bishops of *Rome* (d); and speaks of the good Offices of *Leo* to *Eardulphus*, in such strains of exultation and triumph, as if they were the highest Instances, and most irrefragable Proof of the exercise of the Sovereign Power he

(d) Baron.
Annal.
An. 740. N. 18.

Vidisti in his, Romani Pontificis auctoritatem factis expressam, quod enim non satis sibi suppetere juris, intelligeret imperator, Regem ejectum in regnum pristinum restituere; ab ipso Pontifice Romano id praestari posse, sciens dimisit ipsum regem regna privatum Romam ad Leonem Pontificem, cujus auctoritate restitueretur in regnum. Vidisti pariter quantum. Papae detulerint Angli, licet furore perciti, & regnandi cupiditate inflammati, ut expulsam à se Regem eum restitutum auctoritate Pontificis recipere non detrectarint, sed statim paruerint. Baronii Annal. An. 808. N. 43.

ascribes to those Prelates; or, to speak properly, the Power he gives them; for having first related the restoration of that Prince by Pope *Leo*, he turns again and invites his Reader to taste the Joys that a reflection on so agreeable a Subject entertained him with. In this Example thou hast seen (saith that Writer) the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* expressed in Deeds; for when the Emperor was sensible of his want of Right and Power to restore the deprived King, he sent him away to *Rome* to Pope *Leo*, that he might restore him to his Kingdom by his Authority. Here too thou hast seen what a profound Submission the *English* paid to the

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the Pope, for although infinitely enraged against their Prince, and inflamed with an ambitious desire to Rule, yet without delay they presently obeyed, and, at the Command of the Pope, restored the Prince they had driven from his Throne. One is amazed to see such different effects of the same Facts; if the Kings of *England* give a Charity, they are declared Tributaries for it; if they receive a good turn, it is proof they are Vassals; so that whether they give or receive they are still losers; whilst, on the contrary, the Bishops of *Rome* gain both ways, and become Princes by receiving a Charity, and are said to exercise a Sovereign Power if they do a good turn.

SECT. IX. But though the Learned *Baronius* thus mightily labours to brighten the unknown restoration of *Eardulphus* by Pope *Leo*, the restoration of Pope *Leo* himself who was cruelly treated and driven from *Rome*, and forced to fly into *France* to *Charlemaign*, and was by him restored again, though related at large by that Prelate, (a) has not so much as one cold reflection in favour of the Emperor: On the contrary, the ministerial Office of Pope *Leo* in putting the Imperial Crown on the Head of that Emperor, makes a new Subject for the Vanity of those who set themselves to flatter the Papal Power.

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(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
816.

But, as ill luck would have it, the restoration of Pope *Leo*, and the crowning the Emperor, were transactions of the same date. *Charles* brought *Leo* back to *Italy*, or sent him thither with the Army under the command of *Pipin* his Son, the later end of the Year 800, and arriving himself the eighth of the Calends of *December*, after some time spent in hearing his Cause, and *Leo's* purgation of himself, he restored him to his Bishoprick some time in *December* that Year; and on *Christmas-Day* following was crowned by him; yet, because *Charles*, who had long before been possessed of *Rome*, and a great part of *Italy*, and of the Power of the ancient Emperors of *Rome*, thought fit to take to himself the Title of Emperor, and suffer the Imperial Crown to be put on his Head by Pope *Leo*, some Men have Folly enough to ascribe the disposal, at least the translation of the *Roman* Empire from the *Greeks* to the *Franks*, to that Prelate, so lately exiled, so lately restored, and who had

not Interest enough to keep or recover his own Chair, or preserve himself from the contempt and barbarous Usage of the People of *Rome*.

(a) Spanhem.
Introduct. ad
Hist. Tom. 2.
pag. 806.
(c) Baron.
Annal. An.
800. N. 10.

And which is more, Pope *Leo* did at this time own *Charles* as his Judge and Sovereign Lord, and did not sit down in his Chair, till he had first given an Oath of Fidelity to that Prince, (a) and ever acknowledged himself, and was ever treated as a Subject by him; and yet *Baronius* (b) himself speaks of the Oath of the Emperor, at this his Coronation, in such terms, as if he intended it should be thought an Oath of Fealty, rather than the usual Oath of Sovereign Princes, to preserve the Rights of the Church and People under their Care and Government.

(c) Spanhem.
Introduct. ad
Hist. Tom. 2.
pag. 796.
sect. 12.

And the better to colour this pretence, an Oath unknown to the Writers of this Age, (c) and in all probability not formed till the time of *Gregory* the Seventh, is said to be taken by this Prince, such wild and extravagant Opinions do Men run into, when God gives them over to strong delusions, and suffers them to believe a Lye. But to return to the Affairs of *England*.

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SECT. X. Whilst *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, wholly imployed his Arms against the *Britons*, and the *Northern English* one against another, the *Midland*, the *Easterly* and *Southern* parts of *England* under *Kenulphus*, King of the *Mercians*, enjoyed some tolerable quiet, and had leisure to turn their thoughts to the Affairs of Religion; accordingly this Year a Council was called, which met at *Calcuth* the sixth of the Calends of *August*, or the twenty seventh of *July*, *Kenulph*, together with his Nobility and his Great Officers, were present in this Assembly, wherein *Wulfred*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, presided, assisted by the Bishops, Abbots, and some of the lower Clergy of his Province.

The Canons of this Council are in all eleven, several whereof give great light to the present state of Affairs, and may possibly explain some things that perplex the Accounts of preceding Councils, and therefore may deserve a particular consideration.

1. The first Canon decrees, That the Catholick Faith and ancient Canons be duly kept.

2. That new Churches be consecrated by the Bishop of the Diocess, wherein they are built, with Holy Water, and

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consecration of the Eucharist ; and that the Picture of the Saint to whom it is dedicated, be drawn upon the Wall of the Church.

3. That Christian Charity and Love be preserved.

4. That Abbots and Abbesses be of unblameable Conversation, and chose by the Bishop of the Diocess with the consent of the Convent.

5. That the *Scotch* Clergy shall not be allowed to exercise the Offices of their Ministry in *England* ; it being uncertain by whom they received their Orders.

6. The sixth confirms the Acts of preceding Councils, signed with the Cross.

7. The seventh forbids the alienation of the Lands of Religious Houses, except in cases of great necessity, or letting of them longer than for one Life.

8. Requires that such Monasteries as had been once dedicated by consent of the Bishops, and wherein any Monastick Rule had been received, and the Abbot or Abbess had received Benediction from the Bishop, that such Monasteries should always remain Monasteries unalienable, and never more be esteemed the Property of Secular Persons, nor the Houses be the places of their Habitation.

9. That every Bishop shall take a Copy of the Canons and Resolutions of Councils, with the Year of the Lord, the Name of the Archbishop who presided, and of his Suffragan Bishops who assisted therein.

10. The tenth directs the Funeral and Offices for departed Bishops, and requires, that a full tenth of the Estate they leave be given to the Poor ; that all the *English* Slaves they leave be set at liberty ; and that all Honour may be done to their Memory ; with giving praises to God ; that in every Church, through every Diocess, upon the tolling of a Bell, the People assemble in their Churches, and sing thirty Psalms for the Soul of the deceased ; and that every Bishop and Abbot cause six hundred Psalms, and one hundred and twenty Masses to be said, set three Slaves at liberty, and give three Shillings in Charity ; and that at the end of thirty Days their *Obiit* be celebrated in such manner as they usually observe the Festivals of their Saints.

11. The eleventh requires, that Bishops should not invade the Diocesses of one another, in ordaining of Priests

Priests and Deacons, or the consecration of Churches, excepting the Archbishop; that the Presbyters shall not assume greater Power to themselves than is allowed them by their Bishops; nor intermeddle in the Districts of each other, unless in cases of necessity, in administering Baptism, or visiting the Sick; and that in administering Baptism, they should dip, not sprinkle the Child.

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SECT. XI. Though *Kenulphus*, King of *Mercia*, and several of his Nobility, and several Abbots, Presbyters, and Deacons, are said to be present in this Synod, it seems probable it was rather to advise, and give assistance, as to the Matter or Form of the things to be decreed, than to give their Vote or Suffrage to the Canons; at least thus much is evident, that the decreeing part runs wholly in the Name of the Bishops; and that when they speak of the former Councils in the sixth Canon of this Council, they assume the decreeing Power wholly to themselves; and when they speak of the Canons of those Councils, stile them, *Judicia Episcoporum*, the Decrees of Bishops, though there were several Kings as well as Nobility, and of the lower Clergy, who were assisting in those Councils; and the same stile and way of speaking runs through this whole Council.

Therefore, though the Name of the King, and the Year of his Reign be expressed, yet as well the Preamble as the Body of the Council runs in the Name of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, and their Names are only mentioned in the Preamble; but there are no Names subscribed; and indeed this seems to have been the practice of all the former *English* Councils; such is the form of those under *Augustin*, of those of *Hertford* and *Hatfield* under *Theodore*, of the Council of *Cloveshoe* under *Cuthbert*, in the Year 747.

The like Form appears in all the Assemblies, that may deserve the Names either of National or Provincial Councils, that at *Calcuith*, in the Year 787, only excepted, from the coming of *Austin*, till after the *Norman* Revolution; the Archbishop being always particularly named, and the Bishops of the Province sometimes in particular, sometimes under the general stile of the Assessors of the Archbishop, inserted in the Preamble to the Council, but without any Subscriptions of Names to the foot of the Canons; and when they did sign the

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Resolutions of Councils, it was not with their Names, but with the sign of the Cross: And however, the 'fore-said Council of *Calcuith* may appear as an Instance to the contrary, it is twice said in the Body of that Council, that the Archbishop and Bishops signed it with the sign of the Cross, but not a syllable of subscribing their Names, which doubtless would not have been omitted if it had been done, or then in use.

And the *English* Church seems to have taken their Pattern from the general Practice of the Catholick Church, there being no such thing in any of the six first General Councils, as the Names of the Bishops subscribing the Council they were present at, nor in any of the first Provincial Councils, nor are their Names to be found therein, except the Name of the Bishop who presided therein, unless the writing of any Synodical Epistle occasioned the mentioning of their Names.

SECT. XII. But a contrary practice appears in many of those Assemblies, said to be held at the founding, endowing, granting Charters or Privileges, or making Constitutions for the good government of Religious Houses; but though in the Registers and Cartularies of the Monks, these Assemblies pass under the general Names of Councils and Synods, and sometimes of National Councils, and under the same Titles, are from thence inserted in the first Volumes of *British* Councils, by the Learned Collector thereof; yet one who considers the Acts of those Assemblies, shall not find one Canon or Constitution, or scarce any one thing in all those Assemblies, but what relates to the Religious only.

The earliest Instance of this kind is, that Assembly which passes under the Title of the great Council of *Bacancelde*, held under *Withrid*, King of *Kent*, and *Berthwald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 694, (a) to which is affixed, a confused Subscription of the Names of the King, the Archbishop, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and no less than five Abbesses, and after them one Bishop, and eight Presbyters. The like confused Subscription is affixed to a Charter of *Ina*, a King of the *West-Saxons*, to the Monks of *Malmsbury* (b), to a Charter to the Abby of *Evesham*, said to be granted by *Constantine*, Bishop of *Rome*; *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*; and *Kenred* and

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(a) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 190.

(b) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 227.

(a) *Concil.*
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 210.

(b) *Concil.*
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 256.

(c) *Chron.*
Saxon. An. 775.

Offa, Kings of the *Mercians*; and said to have been made at *Rome* in the Year 708 (a). The like to the Charter and famous Visions of the fore said *Egwin* to a Charter of Privileges said to be granted to the Monasteries of the Kingdom of *Mercia*, by King *Ethelbald* (b). The like to the Constitution ascribed to the Council of *Bacanceld* in the Year 798. And so fond were the later Monks of this kind of Pomp, that those of *Peterborough* have furnished us with the Names of two Kings, and two Archbishops, Witnesses to a Lease said to be lett by the Abbot and Monks of that Abby (c); and indeed almost all the Charters and Grants to the Religious, down to the Conquest, are attended with such Subscriptions of Names.

In short, the Instances of this kind are so many, that though they are for the most part unfortunate in their Names and Dates, yet one would not be forward to pronounce them all Impostures.

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SECT. XIII. But if one may be allowed to judge of a Matter so much in the dark, it seems probable, that the Names of the Archbishop, with the Bishops assisting him in Provincial Synods, were anciently only inserted in the Preamble to the Canons thereof. And by the sixth Canon of this Council it appears, that the ancient way of subscribing Councils with the sign of the Cross, not with the Names of the Bishops, was the present Usage of the *English Church*: But the ninth Canon requiring the Bishop of every Diocess to get a Copy of the Canons of the former Councils, and to have the Year of the Lord, and the Names of the Archbishop and Bishops present at such Councils inserted therein, might probably give occasion first to the Notaries to write the Names of the Bishops, and in time to them to subscribe their own Names.

And it seems very likely, that this afterward gave occasion to the Monasticks to apply the Names of the Bishops, and fix Dates to older Councils, Charters, and Constitutions, in which they were more nearly concern'd. And hence the different Applications of Grants, Charters, and Constitutions to different Men and Councils, the inconsistency of Names and Dates, and confused Subscriptions, and many of those Difficulties that perplex and intangle our History, and sometimes lead Men to make

make a wrong Judgment of the Usages and Constitution of the ancient *English Church*, may possibly be accounted for, without robbing us of so many Monuments of Antiquity, or laying a greater load on the Monasticks, than it can appear they have deserved: But to say nothing of the Art of making Charters, some of them have been noted for the great share they had in the Ignorance of this and the succeeding Ages, and the mighty Zeal and Application with which they ever watched over the Interests of their Foundations, will still add to the probability of this conjecture; but whatever is to be said in favour of their Charters and Constitutions, there are some however said to have the approbation of Synods, whose Faults are too big for any Charity to cover; and as they have the air and stile of their Legends, had probably the same beginning, and seem to deserve the same credit and authority.

CHAP. XVI.

Ab Anno 816 ad Annum 854.

SECT. I. *C*atholick Unity defined by the Council of Calcuith, as by that of Cloveshoe, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome: The occasion thereof: The pretended Power of the Bishops of Rome.

II. *A*uthority of the Church of England asserted; and the Sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury declared final by this Council: Appeals not allowed.

III. *S*ense of this Council of the Blessed Sacrament.

IV. *S*ense of this Council in point of Images and Reliques, contrary to that of Nice.

V. *B*aronius's Argument to prove Image-Worship, introduced by Austin, grounded on a Mistake.

VI. *I*mages not in use in England at the time of this Council.

VII. *M*onasteries, or Colleges of Seculars and Regulars distinguished: The like in other Western Nations: The Rules of St. Basil, Benedict, &c. not yet generally received.

VIII. *A*n-

VIII. *Antiquity of Secular Canons: Ground of quarrel betwixt Monks and married Clergy: State of the Lower Clergy in the Year 816.*

IX. *English Monarchy established under Egbert: The Steps he made in order thereunto: Name of England said to be assumed in his time: That Name more ancient.*

X. *Advantages to the Church expected from uniting several Kingdoms, defeated by the Depredations of the Danes; import of several Councils.*

XI. *Several Charters said to be granted about this time to the Religious, particularly to the Monasteries of Crowland and Peterborough: Several of the Bishops and Clergy take Arms to oppose the Danes.*

XII. *King Ethelwulf goes to Rome, enlarges the grant of Peter-Pence: This improved, in after-times, to a great Revenue: Became a Grievance, and was complained of by the English Parliaments.*

XIII. *Alfred, a younger Son of Ethelwulf, said to be anointed King at Rome: The ground thereof.*

XIV. *Anointing a Ceremony used at Confirmation: This probably the occasion of what is said of the anointing Alfred King.*

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SECT. I. **T**HE third Canon of the 'foresaid Council seems to be taken from the second Canon of the Council of Cloveshoe, held under Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Year 747, by which that Council, in opposition to the contrary Doctrine of Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, asserted the Unity of the Catholick Church to consist in an agreement of Christians in the same Faith, Hope, and Charity, and in Prayers, and good Offices for the Salvation of each other; and not in an Unity with the Church of Rome, or in any submission to the Bishops thereof, as Boniface pretended.

Whether it was the late Controversy, occasioned by the division of the Province of Canterbury, that gave occasion to revive this Canon; or upon what other views this Council acted therein, is not to be determined at this distance; but this Canon compared with the Eleventh, is enough to shew, that the sense of the
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English Church, with respect to the Unity of the Catholick Church, and the freedom and independance of the Church of *England*, was still the same as in the fore-said Council of *Cloveshoe*; for when they speak of the Catholick Church, and the government thereof, in the third Canon, they assert *CHRIST* the Head thereof; and that without flattery or preference of one Bishop to another, Bishops were all Fellow-Servants, and found the Unity of Christians, in their Union with *Christ* the Head of his Church: And upon this ground they affirm, that the Bishops of the Catholick Church have one and the same Authority derived to them from *CHRIST*; and, as such, are Fellow-Servants and Fellow-Labourers, which doubtless they would not have affirmed, if they had been acquainted with any distinct or superior degree of Power over the Catholick Church, given by *CHRIST* to *St. Peter*, or the Bishops of *Rome*; or, indeed, if they had esteemed themselves within the Bounds of the *Roman* Patriarchate.

Ut sit omnium una voluntas in opere, & sermone, vel in iudicio, sine cuiusquam adulatione & disceptatione, quia unius ministerii sumus conserui, unius fabricationis cooperatores, unius corporis membra, cuius caput est Christus. Can. 3. Concil. Britan. Vol. 1. pag. 328.

For this was the Language of *St. Cyprian*, and other Archbishops of *Carthage*, and Primates of *Africa*; of the Churches of *Cyprus* and *Constance*, whose Primates and Metropolitans are so well known in Antiquity by the Title of *Ἀυτοκέφαλοι*, or Self-heads, as not being subject to any Patriarch; and though before this time there had been some attempts to enlarge the *Roman* Patriarchate, and extend it to *Britain* and *Gaul*, there is no reason to doubt, but as well the *English* as the *French* Bishops did yet esteem themselves canonically subject only to their own Metropolitans; and therefore we must not wonder if their Language be answerable to their Sentiments, and the Right the Council of *Ephesus* had so long before vested in such Metropolitans, as were not within the known Bounds of any of the five Patriarchates; and this was undoubtedly the case of *Britain* at the time of that Council.

SECT. II. And as this Council thus determines of the Character and interior Power of Bishops, with respect to the Catholick Church; so when they speak of the external Jurisdiction and Authority of Bishops, with respect to one another, or considered as united into Na-

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tional Churches, they do not go abroad to any Foreign Bishop, but declare, that it was not lawful for any Bishop to intermeddle in the Affairs of any Diocess but his own, except to the Archbishop, because he was the Head of them; and that that ambiguous Word might not leave Men in the dark, as to what they meant by

Ut nulli Episcoporum liceat alterius Parochiam invadere vel etiam aliquid alterius Ministerii ad se pertrahere, in aliqua consecratione vel Ecclesiarum, vel Presbyterorum, Diaconorumque, nisi solus Archiepiscopus quia caput est suorum Episcoporum.
Can. 11. Concil. Britan. Vol. 1. p. 331.

saying, that the Archbishop was the Head of the Bishops, in the later end of the same Canon they ascribe to the Archbishop the Power of judging finally of all Offences against the Canon, where the Offenders refus'd to submit to the decision of their own Diocesans.

And this was no more than the twenty fifth Canon of the Council of *Cloveshoe*, about threescore Years before, had declared the Right of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*;

(a) Concil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 251.

(a) and far was the Church of *England* from Novelty or Innovation in giving this Title of Head to their Metropolitans; for that Title is as ancient as that Collecti-

(b) Du Pin
Dissert. de
Antiq. Eccles.
Disciplin. p. 4.

on which passes under the Name of the Apostolick Canons; and it is well observed by a very Learned and Judicious Antiquary, (b) that the thirty fourth of the

Ut Episcopi unius cujusque gentis agnoscant eum qui in eis primus est, & existiment ut caput.

Apostolick Canons, wherein it is decreed, That the first or chief Bishop of every Nation, should be esteemed as the Head of the Bishops of that Church,

is by the Council of *Antioch* applied to Metropolitans; and the Power here ascribed to the Archbishop is less subject to dispute, than the Title the *English* Synod bestows upon him, being no other than what is founded in the Canons of the Catholick Church, and justified by the general undoubted practice thereof.

(c) Concil.
Tom. 2. Col.
781. Ed. Surii.

And in the *African* Church, where their Metropolitans retained the ancient Title of *Primæ Sedis Episcopi*, the Bishops of the first See (c); and this Honour was ambulatory (*Carthage* only excepted, the Bishop whereof was the Patriarch or Primate of *Africa*), and not fix'd

(d) Du Pin.
Dissertat. de
Antiq. Eccles.
Disciplin. p. 25.

to any See (d); yet from the Canons and constant practice of that Church it appears, that the Authority of those Prelates in their Synods was ever esteemed final

(e) Ibid.

(e); and, in short, the same that the Church of *England* ascribed to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

But

But whilst the Church of *England* did thus, upon all occasions, assert the Authority of its own Bishops and Canons, there is not so much as one Canon, at least that I have met with, from the first planting of Christianity amongst the *English* till this time, that reserves any one case to the Judgment of the Bishops of *Rome*, or so much as takes notice of any Authority they had over the *English* Church; but, on the contrary, the constant conduct of the *English* Bishops was such, as shews, they ever esteemed the *English* a free and independant Church, and under no obligations to the Bishops of *Rome*, but such as Gratitude, Affection, and an Opinion of the Wisdom and Holiness of those Prelates laid upon them.

SECT. III. Before I end my Reflections on this Council, I cannot omit to observe the direction the second Canon gives for the Consecration of Churches, *viz.* that the new Church being first sprinkled with Holy-Water, and the other Rites appointed by the Liturgy performed, the Eucharist should then be consecrated by the Bishops, and be laid up in a Coffer or Chest in the Church amongst the other Reliques; and if other Reliques cannot be had, this, says this Canon, may profit much, being the Body and Blood of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*: That Canon further enjoins, that the Bishop should cause the Picture of the Saint to whom the Church or Altar was dedicated, to be drawn upon the Wall of the Church, or on a Table, or upon the Altars. This Canon may possibly give us some light into the present sense of the *English* Church, of the Sacrament, and use of Images; for as the ancient Name of the Eucharist is here given to the Holy Sacrament, so the application of the Names of the Body and Blood of *CHRIST* to the different Elements, not only shews, that the use of the Sacrament in both kinds was yet continued; but that they were unacquainted with the late Doctrines of Transubstantiation.

For certainly they would not have spoke of the Body and Blood as things distinct and separate, and represented by different Elements, if they had known any thing of the Doctrine of Concomitancy, or the consequences of that change in the Elements, that have of late been pretended; much less would they have spoken of the Holy Elements as of an inferior sort of Reliques,

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818

liques, and have given them place accordingly, if they had believed that the Element which they appointed to be deposited in a Chest amongst their Reliques, was the same Body that was glorified in Heaven.

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(a) Bed. Eccl.
Hist. Lib. 1.
cap. 30.

SECT. IV. The other part of the Canon seems to be much the same with the Instructions given by Gregory (a) to Austin, for the consecration of the Pagan Temples, which he appointed should not be demolished, but sprinkled with Holy Water, and that the Reliques of the Saints to whom it was dedicated, should be deposited therein: The Direction of this Canon is much the same; but the Intimation therein, that in case they had no other Reliques, that they should then deposite the Holy Elements, shews, that the *English* Church yet observed the Direction of Gregory the Great, and had not received the late Doctrine of the second Council of Nice, which not only pronounced the consecration of Churches void, if there were no Reliques deposited therein, but pronounced the Bishop deposed, which consecrated a Church without them. The later part of the Canon, if I mistake not the sense of it, seems no less to agree with the Sentiments of St. Gregory, than to differ from the late Doctrine of Nice in the point of Images.

*Seu etiam præcipimus unicuique Episcopo,
ut habeat depictum in pariete Oratorii,
aut in tabula, vel etiam in altaribus, qui-
bus Sanctis sint utraque dedicata. Can. 4.*

For it seems to be capable of no other meaning, than to injoin every Bishop, on the consecration of a new Church, to cause the Picture of the Saint to which the Church or the Altar was dedicated, to be drawn upon the Wall of the Church, or on a Table or Board, or on the Altars. But if this be to be understood of writing the Name of the Saint on the Wall of the Church, or on the Altar, or entring an Account thereof in the Register, as the words may possibly be interpreted, the practice of the *English* Church will be still more remote from the Doctrine of the Council of Nice.

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(b) Baron.
Annal. An.
714.
A. Tom. 8.

SECT. V. Which way soever this Canon be understood, it is certain it will not amount to a Command to set up the Image of the Saint in the new Church, much less to worship it, unless there be weight in the Argument of Baronius (b), to prove the Antiquity of Image-Worship in the *English* Church; for that Learned Prelate being unwilling to own, that the introducing of

of Images into the *English* Churches, was owing to the Visions of *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, undertakes to prove the introducing thereof by *Austin* the Monk; and this from the Authority of *Bede*, because that Historian thus relates the Procession of *Austin* and his Company, when they first came to the presence of *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, they came, saith he, carrying a silver Cross for a Banner, and the Picture of our Lord and Saviour painted upon a Board.

Crucem pro vexillo ferentes & imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam. *Bed. Eccles. Hist. Lib. 1. cap. 25.*

There is no doubt to be made, but the word *Imago* signifies such resemblance of a Man as, in proper speaking, is called an Image; but it is as evident, it also signifies other similitudes or representations of Persons or Things; and being here joined with *depicta in tabula*, can signify nothing else but a Picture of *CHRIST*. Nor is *Bede* only followed herein by the Learned Author of the Present State of the *Greek* Church, who uses the same words (a) to signify the Pictures in use in that Church, but he has the Authority and Example of *Tully* on his side (b); and though an Image carved, or graven, or cast, are Terms well known, an Image drawn, or painted on a Board, is a new Species of Images, for the discovery whereof the World is intirely indebted to this Great Man, and this Occasion; so that if the Words of *Bede* had been clear, as to the Worship of the thing under debate, it might possibly serve as an Argument for the corrupt practice of worshipping Pictures, in use about this time amongst some *Eastern* Nations, but not prove the Antiquity of Image-Worship, nor justify that practice thereof further than as grounded upon the same reason.

(a) *Græcæ Eccles. Stat. Epist. pag. 137.*

(b) *Epist. 68.*

SECT. VI. But if it had been true that *Austin* had carried an Image of *CHRIST* along with him upon that occasion, unless a Man was well prepared beforehand, one would have much ado to think that a good Argument to prove the Worship of Images in the *English* Church as ancient as their Christianity; and indeed if the Cause had not been reduced to the last extremity, so great a Man could never have fixed upon a reason so foreign to his purpose; especially when *Gregory the Great*, who sent *Austin* into *England*, expressly declares against the Worship of Images as Idolatry (c); and *Bede*

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(c) *Gregor. Epist. Lib. 9. Epist. 9.*

neither here nor any where else, makes mention of any such Worship. And Mr. Cressy, though he seems to have a Passion for the Antiquity of Image-Worship, equal to that of *Baronius*; and for fear that pretence might lose any thing by omitting the word *Image*, renders this passage of *Bede*, carrying an Image pictur'd upon a Board, yet has not courage enough to come up to the sanguine Argument of *Baronius*.

But if *Bede* may be allowed to explain himself, he will put the whole Matter past dispute, and, at once, shew what he means by *Imago depicta*, and what Honour the Church of *England* paid to it; for in the Life of *Benedict*, Founder of the Monastery of *Girwy*, or *Jarrow*, he saith of *Benedict*, that at his return from *Rome*, He

Picturas imaginum sanctorum quas ad ornandam Ecclesiam beati Petri Apostoli, quam construxerat, detulit: Imaginem videlicet beatæ Dei genetricis semper virginis simul & duodecim Apostolorum quibus mediam & ejusdem Ecclesiæ testudinem, ducto à pariete ad parietem tabulato præcingeret, imagines Evangelicæ Historiæ quibus australem Ecclesiæ parietem decoraret, imagines visionum Apocalypsis beati Johannis, quibus septentrionalem aque parietem ornaret, quatenus intrantes Ecclesiam omnes etiam literarum ignari, quævis versum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi, sanctorumque ejus, quævis imagine contemplarentur aspectum; vel Dominicæ incarnationis gratiam vigilantiori mente, recolerent, vel extremi discrimen examinis quasi coram oculis habentes; districtius se ipsi examinare meminissent. *Bede* Histor. Abbatum Wiremuth, &c. Ed. Lond. p. 226.

brought with him Pictures of the Holy Images, to adorn the Church of Saint *Peter*, which he had built, viz. the Picture of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of the twelve Apostles, with which having made a Partition of Boards, from Wall to Wall, he might adorn the Middle and Roof of the same Church; Pictures of the Evangelick Story, with which he might adorn the South Wall of his Church; and Pictures of the Apocalyps and Visions of St. *John*, to beautifie those on the North, that all those who entred into that Church, though unlearned, which way soever they turned themselves, might behold the lovely aspect of *CHRIST* and his Saints, or thereby be brought to call to mind the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord, and by placing before their Eyes the terror of the final Judgment, remember more seriously and strictly to examine themselves.

This transaction of *Benedict* passed about the Year six hundred and eighty, which was near an hundred Years after the coming of *Austin*; but *Bede*'s History of the Lives of the Abbots of *Jarrow* and *Wiremouth*, was not wrote till the beginning of the following Century; and yet, even then, we hear of no other use of the Images *Baronius* contends so earnestly for, but for Ornament, History, and Instruction; whereas there is nothing to be

be said for worshipping the Images of *CHRIST* and his Saints, which will not equally justify the worship of their Pictures; nor is that the only Instance *Bede* gives of this kind; but resuming his Account of the forefaid Benefaction of *Benedict* to the Church of *Jarrow*, he saith, he hung it round with Pictures of the Sacred Story, for so he explains himself, and calls those Pictures, which, in the words immediate preceding, he terms Images; and describing the Benefaction of that Abbot to the Monastery of *Wiremouth*, he saith, gave several Pictures for the adorning the Church of *St. Paul* at *Wiremouth*, amongst which were the Pictures of *Isaac* carrying the Wood with which he was to be sacrificed; of *CHRIST* bearing his Cross, and of the Serpent lifted up by *Moses* in the Wilderness; but if *Bede's* promiscuous use of the words *Images* and *Pictures* could afford ground enough for a Mistake, it is impossible to mistake the Account he gives of the use they were intended for; for whether he mean Images or Pictures, it is certain he says they were intended to adorn the Churches and Monasteries to which they were given.

Sed non minori, sicut & prius sanctarum imaginum munere ditatus, nam & tunc dominice historie picturas quibus totam beatæ Dei genetricis quam in Monasterio majore fecerat Ecclesiam in giro coronaret. Bedæ Histor. Abbatum Wiremouth, &c. Ed. Lond. pag. 229.

In short, if we judge of the Usages introduced by *Austin*, by the Doctrine of *Gregory*, and compare the Passages of *Bede* with the words of this Canon, explain'd by the opposition the Church of *England* so lately made to the Doctrine of the Council of *Nice*, there appears just ground to conclude, that the Worship of Images was so far from being taught by *Austin*, or received by the *English* Church in his time, that it seems very evident from this Canon, that the Images of Saints were not so much as introduced into Churches at this time, by any authoritative act of the Church of *England*; for, doubtless, if this had been a received Practice at this time, the Canon, instead of injoining the picturing of the Saint, would have required the setting up of his Image, as it was generally done in after-times, when that sort of Worship was received: And indeed, *Bede's* Account of *Benedict*, as it seems the best Comment on this Canon, so it is the best Account our History affords of the Original and Antiquity of this Usage of the *English* Church, in setting up the Pictures

Pictures of the Saints, and Representations of the Sacred Story.

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SECT. VII. The fifth Canon, which forbids the admission of any of the *Scotch* Clergy to perform any Offices of their Ministry in *England*, shews, that the old Controversy, and long Opposition they made to the Rites of the *Roman* Church, were not yet quite forgotten. The eighth Canon, by distinguishing such Religious Foundations as were erected with the approbation of the Bishop of the respective Diocess, and had receiv'd any Monastick Rule, or whose Abbots or Abbesses had received Episcopal Benediction from other Religious Foundations, which had none of these distinguishing Marks, shews us, that these Collegiate Foundations mentioned by *Bede* (a), wherein several Persons, both Men and Women, lived together in a Religious manner, but not tied to any Monastick Rules, nor under any Vows of Celibacy, were continued to this time.

(a) *Bed. Epist.*
ad Egbert.
pag. 260.

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These Societies are distinguished by the Names of Secular Monasteries in the fifth Canon of the Council of *Cloveshoe*, in the Year 747. And the Capitulars of *Charles the Great* shew, that the English were not singular in this practice, for there we find frequent mention of such Societies, not long before this time, and above three hundred Years after the second Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent* the Second (b), in the Year 1139, takes notice of a sort of Nuns who lived in their own Houses, and kept Hospitality, and received Strangers of all sorts, and yet, tho' called Nuns, neither observed the Rules of *St. Benedict*, *St. Basil*, or *St. Austin*.

(b) *Concil.*
Torn. 10. Can.
25. Ed. Labb.

This was so common a practice in *England*, in the preceding Age, and so many of the better sort of the English having purchased Lands from their Kings, and obtained exemptions from Secular Services, turned their Houses into such a sort of Monasteries, and received so many Persons therein, as *Bede* apprehended would in time prove a mischief to the State (c); and this might possibly give occasion to the Writer of *St. Dunstan's* Life to affirm, that the Rules of Monastick Life were not received in *England* till he came to the See of *Canterbury* (c); but though that Author's Zeal for the Honour of *Dunstan*, has, I think, led him into a Mistake, and it seems past a doubt, that the *Benedictine* Rule was brought

(c) *Bed. Epist.*
ad Egbert.
pag. 260.

(d) *Angl. Sac.*
Par. 2. p. 91.

brought into *England*, by *Wilfrid*, Bishop of *York*, above an Age before *Dunstan* was born; yet the 'foresaid Account of *Bede* makes it no less plain, that the claim of the modern *Benedictines* to all the ancient Monasteries of *England*, is no better founded than the pretence of the 'foresaid Writer.

SECT. VIII. These Reflections on the ancient state of the Western Monasteries, however they may for the present break the view of our Story, yet by giving a just Idea of the primitive State of those Societies, will give light to the Difficulties which perplex that part of our History, and at once shew us the Reason and Antiquity of the distinction betwixt Secular and Regular Monasteries, and the true ground of the Controversy betwixt them, which gave so much trouble to the succeeding Age; whereas those who judge of these Societies by the later Institutions, are apt to think that the Secular Canons had departed from their first Institution, when in truth the Monks were the Invaders, and the Secular Canons had the intention of their Founders, and Usage as ancient as those Foundations, and the first settlement of Christianity amongst the English on their side.

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The eleventh Canon uses the word *Parochia*, in the same sense that the seventh does the word *Dioecesis*, to signify a Diocess, or the proper District of a Bishop, and limits the standing and certain Offices of those who have since been distinguish'd by the Title of Parochial Clergy, to the administration of Baptism and visiting the Sick, but requires they should exercise no other Offices of their Holy Function, but where they had the express allowance and direction of their respective Bishops; and the word *Ecclesia*, or Church, is so frequently used in this Council (a), in the Councils of *Bacanceld* (b), the Decree of *Ethelard*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* (c), and generally in the Writers of this Age, to signify a Monastery, and so little mention made of the Parochial Clergy, that whatever is said of *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, settling of Parishes, upon the best Judgment one can make of a thing so much in the dark, it seems very probable, that the Institutions of this kind were yet but very few, that the Duty of those to whose care these Churches were committed, settled by Canon, lay in a

Anno
823.

(a) Can. 7.
10. 11.
(b) Concil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 317.
(c) Concil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 324.

little compass, and their Rights in less; and except Houses for their Habitation, and such Lands as by the Founders of Churches were settled on the first founding thereof; that they yet had no settled and distinct Provision secured to them by Law, but were under the common establishment of the Church; and had such Districts, such measures of Duty, and such Provision for their Subsistence as their Bishops directed and assigned them; and that their District, the measure of their Duty, and their Rights, were straitened or enlarged as their respective Bishops judged most for the Honour of God, and best suited to the sufficiency and merit of those they intrusted.

(a) Bed. Epist.
ad Egbert.
pag. 256.

At least it does not appear that the primitive Usage, settled by *Austin*, was yet changed; but, on the contrary, it seems highly probable, that what *Bede* calls the Tribute paid to Bishops (a), and what the *Saxon* Translation thereof renders the Church Shot or Portion, was not the Property of the Bishops alone, but the common Patrimony of the Church, though dispensed by their order and appointment; and that they yet continued to dispose the Donations and Offerings which were made to any of the Churches within their Dioceses.

Anno
823.

SECT. IX. The same wise Providence which governs and disposes all the rest of the Creation, sets bounds to the Glory and Duration of States and Kingdoms, and yet the fall and ruine, as well as the rise of States and Governments, are often kept as Secrets in his hands. One cannot say this was altogether the state of the *English* Nation at this time; for the Divisions and Wars in the Heptarchy had opened a way to the erecting of an *English* Monarchy, yet the suddenness of the Steps, and hasty movements of this change, seem no other way to be accounted for but by his good pleasure, who disposes of States and Kingdoms; and who, for reasons best known to himself, favoured the Arms of *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*. The Kings of the *Mercians* had, for the greatest part of an Age, made a great Figure, had conquered the Countries of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and made the Kings of the *East-Angles* a sort of Tributaries to them.

But about this time, by one surprising Blow, Providence opened a way to the establishing an *English* Monarchy,

narchy, in the Line of the *West-Saxons* : *Egbert* was at this time King of that People, and had been so for about four and twenty Years ; and, by his wise Conduct, and the Success God gave to his Arms, had raised himself to such height, that *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, his only Rival in Power, could not but take Umbrage at the greatness of that Prince ; and this Jealousy soon produced a War, and this Year these Rivals met in Bat-tel, wherein Providence determined on the side of *Egbert*, for *Beornwulf* was overcome, and his Army beaten (a).

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An. 823.

This so raised the Reputation of the Conqueror, that this Success did in a great measure determine the Fate of the whole English Nation ; for the *Mercians* being beaten, the Kingdoms of *Kent*, of the *East* and *South-Saxons*, presently yielded themselves to the Conqueror (b) ; and the same Year the Tributary King of the *East-Angles* withdrew from the King of the *Mercians*, and put himself and Kingdom under the protection of *Egbert* (c) : And about three or four Years after he subdued the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *Northumberland* (d). Thus did he, in the compass of a very few Years, overrun the Heptarchy, and united the whole *English* Nation under his Government, and changed the ancient Stile, and caused the Name of *England* to be given to his Dominions, and himself to be proclaim'd King thereof ; yet, whilst he took this Title to himself, he suffered several of the conquered Kingdoms to retain their ancient Names, and some of the Princes thereof to continue the Title of Kings, but as Tributaries under him.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Chron.
Saxon. An.
827.

But though it be a receiv'd Opinion, that King *Egbert* first gave the Name of *England* to the Dominions of the *Saxons*, within the British Isle, yet one cannot forbear to think, that this Name was much ancients, and rather the product of Time, than owing to any Law, or any appointment of this Prince ; and though there is no reason to doubt, but to distinguish it from the first Seat of the *Saxons*, their Dominions in this Island are frequently called by the Name of the *Transmarine-Saxony*, as well as by the more ancient Name of *Britain* ; yet in the earliest and most unquestion'd Monuments we have, the Name of *England* frequently occurs above two hundred Years before the establishing the Monarchy under

under *Egbert*; and the Name of the English is frequently used to signify the whole People by whom the *Britons* were dispossessed. Thus *Gregory the Great*, in several of his Epistles wrote upon the occasion of their Conversion, uses no other stile but of *Gens Anglorum*, the English Nation: And in his Answer to the eighth Question of *Austin*, he uses the word *Anglia* to signify their Country (a). And *Bede* frequently uses the Name of *English* to signify the People, and *England* for the place of their Abode: And so does the *Saxon Chronicle*. (b) And in the Year 616, the Church planted in this Island is stiled by that Chronicle the *Church of England*; and the *Church of the English* is frequently to be met in the Epistles of *Gregory*; but whatever the effects thereof were in the Form and Stile of the Civil Government, 'tis certain there was a great Revolution about this time.

(a) *Gregorii Opera. Ed. Paris. fol. 464.*

(b) *Chron. Saxon. Annis 474, 696. 697.*

Annis 824. S E C T. X. And this change in the State might, one
825. would think, by uniting the Bishops and Clergy in one
826. common Civil Interest, have wrought the good Effects
that could not have been expected whilst the different
Interests of the several Princes they lived under, hindred
them from uniting in the same common Measures; but
that Wisdom whose ways are Secret and unaccountable,
instead of the good effects the Church and Nation
might have expected from this Union, was pleased to
break the Hopes, and frustrate all the Expectations of
this kind, and suffer both the Church and State to be
extreamly afflicted, and harrassed by continual Depre-
dations from a Northern People, who, in our Histories,
commonly pass under the Name of *Danes*, as they do in
the *French* Historians, by the general Name of *Normans*;
these were a People inhabiting about the *Baltick* Sea,
as the *Saxons* and *Franks* originally were; and as they
in time gained a Settlement in *Neustria* in *France*, to
which they gave the Name of *Normandy*, so they never
totally gave up their Attempts, and footing they gained
in *England*, till these Kingdoms came, in time, intirely
into the possession of their Descendants the *Normans*.

The Depredations of the *Danes* were so frequent, sud-
den, and accompanied with such Cruelty and Barbari-
ties, that that they mightily harrassed the Forces, and
broke the Peace of the new Monarch, and gave him
trouble through all the remainder of his Reign, to de-
fend

send the Countries which cost him so much Labour and Blood to acquire; and as our Historians of the State afford us little else during the sole Reign of *Egbert*, but various Scenes of Cruelty, Havock, and Devastations, occasioned by the Piracy, frequent Descents, and Ravages of the *Danes*; so those of the Church are most of a piece, and afford us scarce any other Views but of ruin'd Monasteries, Churches demolished, Discipline neglected, except some Instances of the Edowments and Immunities said to be granted to the Clergy and Religious Houses, and of Councils said to be held for that purpose.

Of this kind we have the Copies of a Council said to be held at *Cloveshoe* under *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Wulfred*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 822, wherein some Lands taken from the Archbishoprick are said to be restored (a). Another we have, said to be held at the same place, in the Year 824, to determine a dispute betwixt *Hearbert*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Monks of *Barclay* (b). And in the Year 833 we hear of a National Council, said to be held in *London*, wherein mighty Privileges are granted to the Monastery of *Crowland*, and particularly that of Sanctuary and Protection to such Criminals as shall fly thither, and put themselves under the Protection of *St. Guthlac* (c), and this is said to be owing to the favour of *Witlaf*, a Tributary King of *Mercia*. Such another Council we are told was held at *Kingstone*, in the Year 838, under *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, as he is there stiled, and *Celnoth*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. (e)

(a) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 332.

(b) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 334.

(c) Concil.
Brit. Vol. I.
pag. 336.

(e) Ibid.

SECT. XI. But however nice and exact the Charters to which we owe these Accounts seem to be, the *Saxon Chronicle*, which seldom fails where the Interest of the Monasticks is concerned, has no mention of any one of these Councils; and indeed the Charters themselves seem so ill to agree with the Names and Dates affixed to them, and have so much of the Air of after Ages, that as we owe the Copies of them to the Monasticks, one can have no great degrees of assurance, that the Originals had not their beginning from them too; but if we may rely upon these Authorities for the *Kingstone* Council in the Year 838, and that this was held under *Egbert*, we must set aside the Authority of the *Saxon Chronicle*, which fixes the Death of *Egbert*, and the

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837.

Succession of his Son two Years before: Thus much is certain, and agreed upon, that *Æthelwulf* succeeded *Egbert*, a Prince disposed to Study and Retirement, and it may be much better fitted for the Church than the Crown, especially in a new and unsettled Kingdom, and harrassed with the frequent Ravages of a bold and merciless Enemy.

Anno

838.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.
837.

(b) Chron.
Saxon. Anno
838.

The Year preceding the *Danes* made Descents in *Hampshire* and *Dorsetshire* (a), and the opposition they received cost a great deal of Blood: And this Year they did the like in *Lincolnshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Kent* (b). And two Years after they landed again in the *West* of *England*, and though they were generally beaten, yet never failed, when ever they landed, to leave behind them the Marks of Cruelty and Inhumanity; they rased Monasteries and Towns, and made no distinction of Age, or Sex, or Characters; and instead of being discouraged with the brave opposition they met with, their Losses redoubled their Fury, and their Numbers; and therefore, whereas we hear of their coming at first in three Ships only, afterwards of thirty five: In the Year 851 they returned with a Fleet of three hundred Sail, and an Army so well prepared, that they came up the *Thames*, took *Canterbury* and *London*, and beat the Army of King *Æthelwulf* (c).

Anno

851.

(c) Chron.
Saxon. An. 851.

During the heat of this War, for so that which at first merited the Name of Piracy, is now to be called, we hear nothing of the Clergy, those few excepted, who were forced to quit the proper Offices of their Holy Function, and apply themselves to the Weapons of another Warfare to defend their Country; amongst whom, *Alstan*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, distinguished himself by appearing at the Head of the Forces which opposed the *Danes* (d); and yet in the midst of this Noise, and the Confusion and Consternation the Successes of the *Danes* spread over the whole Nation, we are told of a great Council held the same Year at *Kingbury*, under *Bertulph*, a Tributary King of the *Mercians*, and mighty Privileges therein granted to the Monastery of *Crowland*, a Copy whereof is delivered to Posterity, subscribed by *Celnoth*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and six other Bishops, (e) whereof *Alstan*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, and one of the Generals of King *Æthelwulf*, is one.

(d) Chron.
Sax. An. 844.

(e) Concil.
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 344.

And

And that the Glories of that Foundation might be all of a piece, *Ingulphus* (a) adds, that this Charter was accompanied with such vast concourses of People, who came in Pilgrimage to pay their Devotions at the Tomb of *St. Guthlack*, that sometimes above a hundred Pariticks were there cured in a Day; and the following Year the Monks of *Peterborough* assembled, the same Prince, the Archbishop, and most of the same Bishops, to be Witnesses to a Lease they Lett of the Mannor of *Sempringham* (b); if these things were not capable of being accounted for in another way, one should not know what credit to give to the melancholly Accounts our Histories are so full of at this time.

(a) *Ingulphi Hist. Rerum Anglicar. Scriptor. Tom. I. pag. 16.*

(b) *Chron. Sax. An. 852.*

SECT. XII. Nor are these the only Difficulties that lie heavy upon a Reader, but whilst Misery thus covered the Face of his Kingdom, and his Presence seems infinitely necessary at home, *Polidore Virgil* finds, or makes an Errand to *Rome* for King *Æthelmulf*, who, as this Writer tells us, went to *Rome* in the Year 847; and, in imitation of the Example of *Ina*, granted a new Tribute to the Bishops thereof, out of all those Countries which his Father King *Egbert* had added to his Dominions: This, as the same Writer saith, was a Penny a House, for every House inhabited by such Persons as had an yearly Income of Thirty-Pence, or had more Houses than those which they themselves inhabited (c); and the same Year, as we are told by the same Author, that Prince rebuilt the English School at *Rome*, which had been destroyed not long before by Fire. *Florentius* places this Journey, and this Affair, ten Years later, and reduces the Charity of that Prince to a set Sum of three hundred Mancuses.

Anno 852.

(c) *Pol. Virgil. Lib. 5. pag. 96.*

Afferius fixes this Journey in the Year 855 (d), but agrees with *Florentius* in his Account of this Princes Benefaction, and saith, he granted a yearly Pension of three hundred Mancuses to the Bishops of *Rome*, in Honour of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; and indeed this was a great and very generous Charity, if we may rely on the Authority of the very Learned and Judicious Author of the *Thesaurus Septentrionalis*, who makes the Saxon Mancuse to be of equal value with three Half Crowns of the English Coin (e): That of *Offa's* was still greater, being three hundred sixty and five Mancuses; and be-

(d) *Afferii Annal. An. 855*

(e) *Dissertatio Epistolar. pag. 109.*

sides

(a) J. Spelm.
Vit. Ælfred.
Lib. 1. p. 41.

sides this we hear of no other Annual Benefaction given by either of these Princes; so that it seems very likely, that this Charity, which from the manner of raising, and time of payment, did, in time, acquire the Name of *Peter-Pence*, was, as the Learned *Spelman* conjectures, originally the same that is here mentioned (a); and that the confirming of the same Grant, or regranting the same thing by succeeding Princes, a thing very common in Grants from the Crown, gave occasion to the confusion of our Historians, in ascribing this Benefaction, some to one Prince, and some to another. And it seems probable, that the Opinion of some of our Historians, that this was not the same Benefaction with the *Peter-Pence*, had the same beginning.

(b) Ælfredi
Vit. Lib. 1.
p. 6.

And the Argument of the Learned Annotators on the Life of King *Ælfred*, wrote by Mr. *Spelman*, that the three hundred Mancuses, granted to the Bishops of *Rome*, could not be the same Donation that was afterwards known by the Name of *Peter-Pence*, because the *Peter-Pence* amounted to a greater Summ, (b) will appear of no great moment, when it shall be considered, that the Statute of *Carlisle*, in the Year thirteen hundred, declares, that Payment was at this time so much greater than what had been originally granted to the See of *Rome*, that the Addition is there represented as one of the Grievances of *England*.

Anno
853.

SECT. XIII. And the Account our Historians give of an Affair relating to the Son of this Prince, seems as dark and intricate as what they commonly write of the Conduct and Benefaction of his Father; it is generally agreed, that *Alfred*, a younger Son of King *Æthelwulf*, was, when a very young Youth, sent to *Rome*, during the Papacy of *Leo* the Fourth, and about the Year 853, and there, tho' himself a Youth, his Father, and no less than two or three Elder Brothers, all living, yet they tell us, that *Alfred* was anointed King, and adopted as his Son by Pope *Leo*. And the Monkish Writers are so unanimous in this particular, that the best of our late Historians take it upon their credit, and look no further; a Circumstance which at first view appears very odd and surprising; for it is certain, that the Bishops of *Rome* had not yet tasted of the pleasure of disposing Crowns.

And

And it is as certain, that *Alfred* made no pretence to the Crown of *England*, till by the Death of his Father, and Elder Brothers, Providence put that trust regularly into his hands; and this was, according to *Afferius*, in the Year 871, and so eighteen Years after the forefaid pretended Unction. What is faid from the *Annales Britannici*, by the Learned Annotators on the Life of this Prince, that *Alfred* was at this time King of *South-Wales*, (a) no way agrees with the History of the *British* Kings, and crosses the Account of *Afferius*, who lived with him and wrote his Story: And what others fay of this Unction, that this was done by the directions of an Angel, rather adds to the fufpicion, than gives light or credit to the Story.

(a) *Alfredi*
Vit. Lib. 1.
pag. 3.

And there is fo little weight in the common pretence, that this of *Leo* was the Act of a Prophetick Spirit, grounded on a foresight of what *GOD* intended; that after all that is faid of Pope *Leo's* anointing of this young Prince, and adopting him for his Son, one has much ado to forbear thinking, that the Matter was in truth no more than this; this promising Prince being sent to *Rome*, Pope *Leo* performed the Ceremony of Anointing, previous to his Confirmation, and then taking on himself the Office of a God-father, presented him to the Bishop, by whom he was confirmed; and if this be not the whole truth of this Affair, it is at least all that is intelligible and consistent.

SECT. XIV. Thus much is evident, that Anointing is a Ceremony fo constantly used at Confirmation by the *Greek* Church, that that Holy Rite is generally known to this Day by the Name of Chrism (b); and there is no doubt the like practice was in ufe in the present Western Church, and particularly in *England* in the time of *Alfred*, though not in the fame manner as in the Eastern Church, where Chrism does fo immediately fucceed the Office of Baptism, that the Enemies of that Communion do ufually pretend that Rite to be an Appendage of the Office of Baptism, and charge the *Greek* Church with the contempt of the ancient Rite of Confirmation (c); but in the cafe of *Godrune*, a King of the *Danes*, Baptized at the Instance of King *Alfred*, and to whom that Prince was God-father, it appears he was Baptized, and, after fome time, Confirmed by Anointing.

Anno
853.

(b) *Smith de*
Græcæ Ecclef.
Stat. 78.

(c) *Ibid.*

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An. 878.

(b) Ibid.

ing (a). Nor am I without ground in the conjecture I have advanced, for the *Saxon Chronicle* says, that *Æthelwulf* sent *Alfred* his third Son to *Rome* to be confirmed, (b) and that *Leo* presented him to a Bishop for that end; but then it must be said, that the same History adds, that the Pope having, upon notice of his Father's Death, consecrated *Alfred* King, he then presented him to a Bishop for Confirmation: The inconsistency of which Account is such, that the greatest Right which can be done that excellent History is to suppose the words relating to the Death of *Æthelwulf*; and what is said of the Consecration of his Son, to be Errors in the Copies from whence that Work was published.

And as this will deliver that Work from the reproach of a confused and inconsistent Story, and render the sense of that Paragraph more perfect and more consistent with what is certain in the Matter of Fact; so will it deliver the Reader from that unintelligible Tale of *Alfred's* being anointed King during the Lives of his Father and two Elder Brothers, and in his own Minority, and this too by a Foreign Prelate, who had no precedent to guide him, and could possibly have no temptation to lead him to a thing so contrary to the true Interest and common Measures of that cautious Court; besides, it seems very probable, that the Ceremony of anointing Kings was a thing yet unknown to the *English* Nation.

CHAP. XVII.

Ab Anno 855 ad Annum 900.

SECT. I. **K**ING *Æthelwulf's* general Grant of Tythes: The Circumstances thereof.

II. The first Provisions made for the *English* Clergy, as early as the Settlement of Christianity: Their Maintenance not owing wholly to the Grant of King *Æthelwulf*: The grounds on which payment of Tythes was settled in the *English* Church.

III. A

III. *A Parochial Clergy not settled in Villages in the beginning of the Eighth Century: The Reason and Effects thereof.*

IV. *Monasteries generally destroyed: This occasions Settlement of the Clergy in Villages, and founding of Parochial Churches, and more general Marriage of the Clergy.*

V. *An Account of the first Endowment of the Church: The Reason and Consequences thereof: Parochial Right of Tythes settled by degrees.*

VI. *King Æthelwulf's Benefaction at Rome: A Conspiracy formed against him in his Absence: He loses a part of his Kingdom by his Journey to Rome.*

VII. *Æthelbald succeeds Æthelwulf, and him, two other Brothers: Alfred comes to the Crown: State of England at his accession to the Crown.*

VIII. *Great part of England conquered by the Danes: Alfred sets out a Fleet: The good effects thereof.*

IX. *Alfred divides England into Counties and Hundreds; and provides for the security and due order of his People.*

X. *Some Reflections on the State of the English Government: This Prince governs with the Advice of his People: The different Inferences made from thence: No Judgment to be made of the form of Government under this Prince, by the present Constitution of England.*

XI. *State of Learning in the beginning of Alfred's Reign: The reason of the decay thereof: This Prince begins the founding of Colleges for the promoting of Learning: The Reasons and good Effects thereof.*

XII. *An University said to be founded in Oxford, in the time of the Britons: King Alfred owned as the Founder thereof: He erects Schools to be Nurseries to those Foundations.*

XIII. *King Alfred invites Professors from abroad, amongst them Grimbald and Scotus. Scotus eminent in France: He is murdered.*

XIV. *King Alfred gives all encouragement to Learned Men: Translates the Psalms and Gospels: The Pastoral of St. Gregory into English: Encourages and assists his Clergy.*

XV. *King*

XV. *King Alfred converts a Body of the Danes, settles them in England: And by a Body of Laws settles Christianity amongst them; and provides against their relapse to Idolatry.*

XVI. *Some Account of his Ecclesiastick Laws made for the new Converts.*

XVII. *The Laws of Alfred ascribed to Edward his Son: The occasion thereof: The Death of King Alfred.*

Anno
855.

SECT. I. **T**Hese aforementioned are not the only perplexed, and dark Passages in King *Æthelwulf's* Story, but the earliest Notices we have of his Munificence to the Church, and of his Charity to the Poor, seem so intricate, that if the Writers after the Conquest had not come in to our relief, Posterity had never known what, if true, ought never to be forgotten, his granting the Tythes of his whole Kingdom to the Church; and the tenth part of his Hereditary Estate to the Poor: That to the Church is said to have passed in an Assembly held this Year at *Winchester*; and this with the consent of *Beored* and *Edmund*, Tributary Kings of *Mercia* and the *East-Angles*, the Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, and Nobility of *England*.

(a) Ingulphi
Hist. Col.

Gale. pag. 17.

(b) Malmsb.

de Gest. Reg.

Lib. 2. fol. 22.

(c) M. Westm.

An. 854. pag.

158.

(d) Selden.

Hist. Tythes.

Chap. 8. p. 208.

(e) Alfredi

Vit. Lib. 1.

pag. 6.

And several Copies of this Grant are transmitted to Posterity by *Ingulphus* (a), *Malmsbury* (b), *M. Westminster* (c); besides all which, there is one from the Char-
tularies of *Abingdon*, published by Mr. *Selden* (d), but
with this difference, that all the former bear date at
Winchester, in the Year 855; that of Mr. *Selden* at *Wil-*
tan, the Year preceding; which gives great probability
to the conjecture of the Learned Annotators on the Life
of King *Alfred* (e), that this Grant of Tythes was twice
made by King *Æthelwulf*, first in an Assembly of the
States of *West-Saxony*, and then by the States of the whole
Kingdom of *England*.

And the Circumstances of this Grant make a great addition to the Charity and generality of it; for though the Kingdom was at this time engaged in War, and needed all the Helps the Wealth of the Nation was capable of contributing toward it; and though the Persons of the Clergy and Religious had not been altogether excused from Military Services in times past, and in

in most of the Grants to Religious Houses, the aiding their Princes in their Expeditions, the building of Bridges, and fortifying Towns, were Services generally reserved to the Crown; yet in this general Endowment of the Church, the Clergy are discharged from all Secular Services. And such is the good Fortune which has attended the Charity of this Prince, that although the Copies we have of this Grant be so imperfect, and the Stile thereof so dark, that if one was to judge of the importance of this Grant only by the Letter of it, it would not be easy to find the sense succeeding Ages have put upon it; yet not only the ancient, but our modern Historians, and Mr. Selden (a) himself, have, with one consent, allowed this Prince the Honour of the first general Law of *England* for the Settlement of Tythes.

(a) *History of Tythes, cap. 8. pag. 207.*

SECT. II. And yet whilst we pay this just Honour to the Memory of this Prince, that the Reader may not be deceived, and think he has a view of the later Ages of the Church, nor the preceding or succeeding Princes lose the share they had in the Honour of providing for the Service of God, it seems very reasonable to add, that the Provision for the Parochial Clergy does in the manner and circumstances thereof bear proportion to the building of Churches, and distinguishing and setting out the bounds of Parishes, and was not the Work of any single Age, but grew up by degrees, and under the continued Cares and Charities of Princes, till it came to that State, which was once the Glory of the English Nation, and might have continued so to this Day, if the fond Opinions of the Monastick Life, together with the Artifices of the Religious, had not first broke in upon the Sacred Patrimony of the Church, and those unhappy alienations taught Posterity to resume a great part of the Revenue, which their Ancestors thought their Duty and their Glory to bestow upon the Church and Clergy. But to return.

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Without lessening the Honour of King *Æthelwulf*, there is just reason to bless Almighty God, who, from the first settlement of the Christian Religion in *England*, seldom failed to raise up such Princes as were Nursing Fathers to his Church; for no sooner was Christianity settled amongst the English, but a Provision

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was made for those whose particular care it was to attend upon the Altar: This was the case of those Churches planted by *Austin* and his Followers, for *Ethelbert* no sooner receiv'd the Christian Faith, but he bestowed considerable Possessions on the Church, for the Maintenance and Support of the Clergy: This too was the case of those who owed their Conversion to the *Scots* from *Ireland*, they erected Churches, and provided for the Subsistence of the Clergy; though the want of other places of Education made it necessary for some Ages for the Bishops and Clergy to live together at the Mother Church, that they might at once serve the present Age in the discharge of their Holy Office, and provide for the future, by training up Men to succeed them.

And this, together with the fond Opinions of the Monastick and Collegiate Life, so long retarded the settlement of the Clergy in Towns and Villages, that *Bede* speaks of it as a thing very unusual in his time, for a Clergy-man to be seen in Country Villages (a); but yet he saith, that there was not an obscure Village but what was charged with a payment to the Bishop; and in the Council of *Calcuith*, in the Year 787, the seventeenth Article proposes a general payment of Tythes; and as the reasons of that payment are founded on the Authority of the Levitical Law, so the Usage established by that Law, is proposed as the measure for the Conduct thereof: And the Rule concerted in this Council is

Ut omnes studeant de omnibus que possident decimas dare quia speciale Domini Dei est. Concil. Britan. Vol. I. p. 292.

(b) *Concil. Brit. Vol. I. pag. 360.*

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855.

answerable hereunto, That all Men should pay Tythes of all they possess, because it was the particular command of *GOD* that it should be so, and they were God's special Right. And accordingly, amongst those Laws of *Moses* which were adopted into the Law of *England* by King *Alfred*, the Law for the payment of Tythes and first Fruits has a place (b).

SECT. III. And yet, notwithstanding all this care to make a Provision for the Clergy, there are so many Laws and Canons in the three succeeding Ages on the same Subject, and so many Instances of voluntary Consecrations of Tythes, as would almost tempt one to think there is some Mistake in what is said of the fore-said Law for the general settlement of Tythes; and yet our Historians are generally of the same Opinion in this

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particular ; and this makes it exceedingly difficult to make a true Judgment of the present state of the Lower Clergy, and of the ground of this seeming Contradiction, as to the Time, Manner, and Circumstances of making Provision for them ; and it may be no one thing will give more light into these Affairs, than the change in the face of the English Church, and the consequences thereof, which the order of Time calls me to relate.

There being no other known Schools of Learning in the Western Nations, during the Sixth and Seventh Centuries, but in Cathedrals and Religious Houses, the English Nation, as it owed its Conversion to Men so educated, learnt from them such esteem and veneration for those Institutions, that from the first settlement of Christianity amongst the English, till after this time, the Offices of Religion were generally provided for by such of the Clergy as lived at the Mother Church under the Eye and Care of their Bishops, who were by them sent out to officiate where the necessities of the Diocess called them ; or else by such of the Clergy as were fixed in Monasteries, and Colleges of Canons dispersed about the Nation.

And for this reason, tho' Churches were built in many places for the more convenient assembling for the Worship of GOD, yet they were for the most part supplied from the forefaid Bodies, and by Successions of Men sent out occasionally to officiate ; and therefore the Learned Mr. *Wharton* very properly calls these Itinerant Preachers (a), and says of those aforefaid places of publick Worship, that they were not in proper speaking Parish-Churches, but rather Chappels or auxiliary Churches to the Mother-Church, and had no settled Limits or Districts, but were equally free to all Persons who thought fit to resort thither, where-ever they lived ; and where the Nobility and Great Men, whose Lands and Territories were very great, did begin to build Churches for the convenience of their Families and Vassals, and with the consent of their Bishops had Priests permitted to reside amongst them.

These Churches were the places of Worship to all their Tenants, Vassals, and Dependants, and had no other Bounds but those of the Territories and Neighbourhood of the Persons who built them ; and the Sub-

sistance

(a) Defence
of Pluralities
pag. 75.

(a) Bed. *Ecccl.*
Hist. Lib. 5.
cap. 4.
 (b) *Lib.* 5.
cap. 5.

sistance of these Clergy was upon the Lands settled by the Founders, and such part of the Oblations made by the Founders, their Tenants, and Vassals, as were agreed upon betwixt the Bishop and the Founder, at the first erecting of the Church; of the Foundations of this kind *Bede* gives an Instance or two, about the Year 700, when he saith of *Puch*, a *Saxon* Count, that he built a Church in his own Village, and invited *John*, Bishop of *Hexham* to consecrate it (a). The like Account he gives of *Addi*, another *Saxon* Nobleman (b). But the Instances of this kind are so few, that in a later Work of the same Author, his Epistle to *Egbert*, he makes a heavy, but just complaint of the want of such Settlements.

Nor can we wonder at it, when it is considered, that the Lands of *England* were at this time in a very few Hands, the Nobility and Great Men being almost the only Proprietors, and the common People either their Vassals, or at best their Dependants and Tenants for Life; and as this seems to be one great reason why Churches, which bore proportion to the Proprietors of the Lands were yet but few; so it seems probable, that the changes made in *England* by frequent Sales, and enfranchising of their Vassals by the Nobility and Clergy, under the *Saxon* Government, by the Possessions acquired therein first by the *Danes*, and afterwards by the *Normans*, by bringing the Property of *England* into more hands, did, in proportion, increase the number of Churches.

For the Great Men, whoever made a greater or lesser Figure, according to the Interest and Esteem they had in their respective Countries, and the Opinion their People had of their independancy, did what in them lay affect the appearance of Sovereignty in their Lordships and Mannors; and this put them upon seeking, not only a Power of punishing little Misdemeanors, but Felony, and Crimes of the highest nature, and advanc'd their Houses to Halls, and Courts of Justice to their Tenants and Dependants; so it had this good effect also, it put them upon building of Churches, and making the bounds of their Mannors the bounds of Parishes; and desiring Priests to officiate to their Families, their Tenants and Vassals only; and this reason, together

ther with the encouragement given thereunto by a Law of King *Edgar*, if I mistake not, occasioned the general building of Churches in this and the following Centuries, and made the Bounds of Mannors and Parishes the same; and thus in many places they continue to this Day: And, for ought appears to the contrary, this continued to be the State of the Parochial Clergy and Churches, till the Barbarities of the *Danes*, by destroying of Monasteries, and a Law of King *Edgar* in the following Century, by which he empowered the Founders of new Churches to give a part of their Tithes to the Churches which they built, opened a way to the change which in time ensued.

SECT. IV. Besides the Wealth possessed by Religious Houses, those Houses as being the strongest and best built, and most likely to resist the fury of the *Danes*, were generally made the Treasuries of the neighbouring Countries; and partly for these reasons, and partly from a detestation of Religion, these barbarous Invaders made these Houses the particular subject of their Rage and Fury; nor did they only treat the Persons of the Religious with the last degree of Insolence and Cruelty, but burnt their Houses, and where-ever they found them, left nothing behind but what the Fire spared, to attest their Inhumanity to succeeding Ages; and this their Fury lasted so long, that such of the Religious as escaped the Sword, never lived to see the end of it; and this so intirely overthrew these Foundations, that whereas *Bede* in the beginning of the Eighth Century complained, that the Monasticks were so numerous, that they were a burthen to the Nation, when *Dunstan* came to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the middle of the Tenth Century, the Writer of his Life saith, that the Name of Abbot or Monk was scarce known in *England*.

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This change amongst the Regulars drew after it a greater change amongst the Secular Clergy, for their safety led them from the Retirement, where the most part of them had lived before, and forced them to disperse and settle themselves in such Villages and Towns, where they might with more security discharge the Offices of their Holy Function; and as this change put them under a necessity of endeavouring to make their Lives easy, by supplying the want of the Conversation

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which they had before enjoyed, with entering into a state of Marriage; so those Monasteries and Collegiate Societies which first recovered the Fury of the *Danes*, so generally followed their Example, that as well the Members of those Societies which were originally Regulars, as those founded upon another foot, were universally married, when *Dunstan* came to the See of *Canterbury*; so that we are not to wonder at the mighty difficulties he met with in his attempts to force the married Clergy from Monasteries, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches.

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SECT. V. This Reflection on the ancient and present state of the Church and Clergy of *England*, may possibly give us light into their Maintenance and Revenue: As for the Collegiate Societies, for the most part they had their Supports from the Lands settled upon them by the Munificence of their Founders; and it is no wonder we hear of no other Laws relating to the Revenues of those who for the most part lived in Societies with their Bishops, but such as respect the general endowments of the Church; and these Laws being general, and extending only to general Grants of Tithes to the Service of God, we are not to wonder if in the two following Centuries we hear of frequent Dedications to particular Churches, Altars, Colleges, or Monasteries; nor think it strange if *Æthelwulf's* Law about Tithes did not generally take place, so far as to establish a Parochial Right of Tythes, till by the Zeal of succeeding Times, Parish-Churches were generally built.

And this was the case of foreign Churches; for tho' in the Capitulars of *Charles the Great*, there is a Law made about the Year 778, injoining a general payment of Tythes; and another about the Year 800, directing the manner of dividing Tythes; and this was followed by many other of the succeeding Emperors; yet it is very evident, that the Parochial Right of Tythes was so far from being duly settled by these Laws, that it was thought necessary in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Innocent the Third*, in the Year 1215, to resume this Affair; and in the 53^d, 54th, 55th, and 56th Canon (a), that Council determined the Parochial Right of Tythes; and yet a Writer of our own seems to think that these Canons had not their intended effect in *France*, and mentions a Canon of the Council of *Lyons*, in the Year

(a) Concil.
Tom. 2. Ed.
Labb. Col. 205.
208, 209.

1274, by which it was decreed, that for the time to come it should not be lawful for any Man to dispose his Tythes at pleasure, as heretofore had been done (a); but that they should be paid to the Mother-Church (b); but if ever there was such a Canon, Mr. Selden well observes, it is not to be found in the Collection of *Binius*; and it is as evident, that there is no such Canon in *Labbe's* Edition of the Councils: But however things passed abroad, the state of the Church of *England* considered, how few Parish-Churches were then in being, and how effectually it would have discouraged the building of more, if the Law of *Æthelmulf* had fixed the Tythes of his Kingdom to those few Churches then erected, upon the general Endowment, will give great reason to value the Wisdom and Foresight, as well as the Zeal and Piety of the Age; and the reason is plain, for the Parish-Churches of *England*, which are now usually computed at above nine thousand, at the *Norman* Conquest, which was about two hundred Years after the Death of King *Æthelmulf*, are commonly reckoned but about four thousand.

(a) Wallingh.
Hist. Ang. Col.
Camd. pag. 45.
(b) Ibid.

And if it be considered how great a part of the publick Worship was performed in the Monasteries, Colleges, and at the Seats of the Bishops; and how generally the rest of the Nation was supplied by Men who had their Residence in those places, it will be easy to conceive, that the number of Parish-Churches was very small in the time of King *Æthelmulf*; and if the Precincts, which did in after-times make payment of Tythes to limited and certain Churches, were yet for the most part unfixed and uncertain, without lessening the Munificence of King *Æthelmulf*, or the Piety of the Age, the Building and Endowment of so many Parish Churches, and consequently the distinguishing and setting out the Precincts and Bounds of Parishes, as to the payment of Tythes, are easily to be accounted for; and the difficulties relating to the Time, Manner, and Circumstances of endowing the great number of Churches, built in the four succeeding Ages, fall before us.

But if Parishes in the modern sense were distinguished by *Theodore*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the middle of the Seventh Century; and the Laws about Tythes had fixed and limited Tythes to the Churches within those Parishes;

Parishes, in the Precincts whereof the Tithes arose, and given the Ministers thereof a distinct and certain Property therein, it will be impossible to account for the after building of so many new Churches, and setting out so many new Parishes, and the frequent Consecrations of Tythes to Monasteries and Colleges by private Men; or to reconcile the Laws of *Æthelmulf* and his Predecessors to the Laws and Canons, and Histories of succeeding Times: But having said this to give some light to this part of our History, I shall return to observe what was further remarkable under the Reign of *Æthelmulf*.

Anno

856.

(a) Anastasii
Hist. de Vit.
Pontif. pag.
304.

SECT. VI. Besides what is already said of the Munificence and Charity of King *Æthelmulf*, *Anastasius*, (a) in the Life of Pope *Benedict* the Third, has given us a long Catalogue of the rich Presents made by this Prince to the Bishop and Churches of *Rome*, as another Writer has of his Liberality in giving of Lead for the covering of a Monastery near *Paris* in *France*, which Country he took in his way from *Rome*; and during his stay at the *French* Court, he married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Charles the Bald*, and brought her with him into *England*; but at his return he met not with such Reception as his Merit and Character seem'd to deserve; for whether it was this unseasonable Journey to *Rome*, when his Presence was so necessary at home, or the profusion of his Wealth in other ways, when the Miseries of his own Country called for it, that lost him the Confidence and Affections of his People, or whether it was the Jealousy his new Marriage had put into the Head of his Son, or a concurrence of these together, is not to be determined, but so it was, that at his return he found a mighty Interest formed to keep him out of his Kingdom, and this Conspiracy headed by his own Son, assisted by many of the Nobility, Bishops, and People of *England*.

And though at the first view this Sedition in a state exceedingly weaken'd by a War with the *Danes*, has a very affrighting Aspect; yet the same Reason which made the danger formidable, was greatly instrumental in delivering the Nation from it; for the Fears the several Parties were under of becoming a common Prey to a Foreign Enemy, set them so far right at home, that

that the difference betwixt the Father and the Son *Æthelbald*, was adjusted in the division of the Kingdom; for the Father leaving the Son in possession of the Western Parts of the Kingdom, was contented with reserving the Eastern to himself, which at this time consisted only of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surry*, as the Western did of the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*.

In this manner continued Affairs for about two Years after the return of King *Æthelmulf*, when the Death of that Prince made a new Division; for by his Will he divided his Dominions betwixt his two eldest Sons, *Æthelbald* and *Æthelbert*; *Æthelbald* had that part given him which he had before forced his Father to yield up to him; the other Brother that part his Father died possessed of; the former survived his Father but two Years and an half, but lived long enough to cover his Memory with Infamy and Dishonour; for not contented to invade the Throne of his Father, during his Life, as soon as he was in his Grave he took possession of his Bed too, taking *Judith*, the Daughter of the *French* King, and Relict of his Father, to his Wife.

Anno
857.

SECT. VII. After *Æthelbald*'s short Reign of five Years the Kingdom was again united in *Æthelbert* his younger Brother: *Alfred*, though said to be anointed King about six Years before, was yet but a Child of eleven Years old, and so meanly provided for by his Father, that he was in a manner left to the Charity, as well as to the Protection of his Brothers.

Anno
860.

And though *Æthelbert* died this Year, yet *Alfred* was still to wait longer for the Crown, for the Succession fell upon *Adhered*, another Elder Brother; his Reign too was short, lasting but five Years, and yet he lived long enough to see a formidable Enemy in the Bowels of his Country, his Crown in danger of being snatch'd from his Head; and to see the Affairs of his Kingdom so embarrassed, that it was not without some reluctancy that his Brother *Alfred* was prevailed upon to accept the Succession, which fell to him by the Death of *Adhered*, in the Year 871,

Anno
866.

The state of *England* was such at this time, that *Alfred* inherited the Title, rather than the Dominions of his Ancestors; for partly by the weakness and unsteadiness of his Father and his Brothers, and partly by the

Anno
871.

Vengeance God suffered the *Danes* to inflict upon the English Nation, the Monarchy established in the Family by his Grandfather *Egbert*, was reduced to a state so feeble and languishing, that the very Title of Monarch was in a manner become precarious; for the Kings of *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, and the *East-Angles*, though they retained the Title of Tributaries, yet had so far shook off the Yoke, that they seldom remembered their Duty, but when the fears of being swallowed by a Foreign Power called them to it.

But, on the contrary, they were ever jealous of that Power whose Conquests were yet fresh in Memory, and were not careful to unite against the common Enemy; and this ill-grounded Jealousy amongst the Tributary Princes made them an easy Prey to the *Danes*, who had over-run the greatest part of the East, the Midland Parts of *England*, and were hasting to the West (a), when *Alfred* came to the Crown of *England*; so that by that time he had been a Month upon the Throne, he was forced upon a Battel to defend it (b): And if we may rely on the Writer of his Life, besides many Rencounters, he fought no less than eight set Battels, within the first Year of his Reign (c): In short, though he had a Title to a Kingdom, he was to conquer before he could hope to govern it.

(a) Asserii
Annal. An.
870, 871.

(b) Asserii
Annal. An.
871.

(c) Ibid.

Anno
874.

(d) Asserii
Annal. An.
873.

SECT. VIII. And so difficult did he find it, to make Head against the Enemy, that in the compass of three or four Years after he came to the Crown he had the Mortification to see the *Mercian* and *Northumbrian* Kingdoms, comprehending all the Midland and Northern Parts of *England* in the possession of the *Danes* (d), without being in a capacity to help them; and in all probability his own Country the West of *England* had had the same Fate, if these Calamities had not changed his Measures, and put this Prince upon a course his Predecessors never thought of, and his Successors ought never to forget, till the Sea forsakes its course, and *Britain* ceases to be an Island; and this was the building and setting out of a Fleet; for whilst the Enemy was suffered to Land, and the safety of the Nation did intirely depend on the Courage and Bravery of a Land-Force, the Nation ever lost, what side soever gained the

the Victory ; for though the Enemy was repelled, yet still they left their Marks behind them.

And therefore this wise Prince betakes himself to a course that in a little time broke the Measures of his Enemies, and by meeting his danger did easily overcome it ; for by his Fleet at Sea having defeated that of the Enemy (a), and thereby broke their hopes of Supplies, he quickly reaped the benefit of his new Councils ; for *Rollo*, with a considerable Body of *Normans*, who had wintered in *England*, and was brought thither, in all probability, by the same reasons which led his Countrymen thither before him, left *England*, and landing in *France*, this Year, laid the Foundation of the Dukedom of *Normandy* ; and such of his Countrymen as staid behind were dispirited, by seeing themselves in danger of having their Recruits and Succours cut off before they could come to them ; and by this change of Measures, themselves became subject to the Insults and Depredations with which they were used to annoy their Enemies ; so that after great variety of Fortune this Prince brought some of the *Danes* to a Peace, and having ingaged *Guthram*, a King of the *Danes*, to turn Christian, *Alfred* became his Godfather, and at his Baptism gave him the Name of *Althelstan* (b), and leaving him possessed of this Title of King, he gave him the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, containing *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, which he planted and divided amongst his Followers, where that Prince lived fourteen Years after his Baptism, and died in the Year 890.

In this Kingdom *Guthram* the Dane had the Honour to succeed King *Edmund*, who had been barbarously murdered but a few Years before by those of the same Nation, so unsearchable are the Measures of Providence. Other some of the *Danes* went over into *Flanders*, and some of the English, who had been forced to retire to Woods and Mountains, or leave their Country, returned and submitted to the Government of King *Alfred* ; and this was the case of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, and such of the Tributary Kingdoms as had never before been sincere in their Submissions to his Grandfather *Egbert* ; so that it is not without good ground, that the Learned Writer of his Life styles this Prince the Founder of the English Monarchy ; and having

(a) Asserii
Annal. An.
876.
Anno
876.

(b) Asserii
Annal. An.
890.

Anno
880.

Anno 886. ving some tolerable quiet he applied himself to rebuild, and repair the Cities which had been destroyed, or suffered in the War; and in the Year 886 he began with that of *London*, (a) and erected several new Fortresses to stop the Fury of an Enemy in case of a new Invasion.

(a) Afferii
Annal. An.
886.

Anno 886. S E C T. IX. The Justice and good Order of his Kingdom had a greater share in his Thoughts and Care; he divided it into Counties, and these were subdivided into Hundreds and Tythings, and had proper Officers, so fitted both for Peace and War, as made the administration of Justice easy, and without confusion, provided for the Security and Defence of his People.

And if the Common Law of *England* has not the Antiquity ascribed to it by that great Ornament to his Profession, Sir *Edward Cook*, who makes it of British Extraction, our Ancestors will get all the Honour that is lost, by lessening the Antiquity of our Forms of Law, if we should rely on the Authority of those who pretend to say, they had their beginning from the North, or allow the conjecture of the Learned Mr. *Spelman*, that the distinction of Common Law had its beginning under this Prince (b), and was designed to distinguish that Law which was equally obliging to the *English* and *Danes*, from those Laws which were peculiar either to the *English* or to the *Danes*.

(b) Alfredi
Vita. pag. 73.

(c) Alfredi
Vit. Lib. 2.
pag. 71.

(d) Afferius
de Gest. Al-
fred. Col.
Camden p. 22.

Certain it is, that the way of Trials by Juries was an Usage amongst the *Germans* as old as the Days of *Tacitus*; and it is upon good ground, that the Writer of King *Alfred's* Story affirms the establishing of Trials by a Jury of twelve Men, security for the Peace and Behaviour, to be owing to the Wisdom of that Prince (c), whether he first introduced these Usages, or rescued them from the rubbish and confusion of the ruined Heptarchy, will not deserve inquiry: And if that Author has not ground enough to affirm, that the several kinds of Summons, or several Forms of Writs had their beginning in this Prince's Reign, his Will (d) gives us Marks of the manner of entailing Estates, too evident to be disputed: And the Forms and Methods of holding County and Hundred Courts, were they carefully looked into by Gentlemen of the long Robe, skilful in Antiquity, might possibly give great light to the original of our Tenures, and

and shew from whence, and by what Steps and Degrees the proceedings of Law, which respect the Property and Life of the Subject, and publick Peace, grew up to the state in which they now appear.

SECT. X. The Constitution of our present Government is a subject too nice for unskilful hands, and by such dark and unobserved steps has grown up to what it is, that although nothing possibly better deserves the study of a true Englishman, yet it is so little understood, that our Writers are not agreed in what Hands the Legislature was originally lodged, or by what Rules it was conducted; and they are equally warm who contend for a *Saxon* or *French* Original, and it may be there is a great deal of truth on both sides; for there is no doubt but the *Saxons*, and *Normans*, and *Franks*, were mixtures of People, descended from the same Ancestors, who inhabited about the *Baltick* Sea; and as they were Colonies and Descendants from the same Country and People, they agreed doubtless in some general measures of Government.

Anno
890.

And there are no Marks of an Arbitrary Power in all the remains we have of the ancient Northern Governments; and as it is evident this was the case of the English under the Heptarchy, it is very probable King *Alfred* made no change in this particular, but such as necessarily attended the shifting the Government from the hands of several Princes into the hands of one; but in all the remains we have of his Reign, his Government has great Marks of Wisdom and Gentleness; and as his Laws seem to have a constant and steady regard to the good of his Kingdom, so there seems no reason to doubt but they were ever framed by the Councils and Advice of his People; nor does this only appear in the Preamble to that Body of Laws made after his League with *Guthram* the *Dane*, Tributary King of the *East-Angles* (a); and in the other Body of Laws made before for the Government of the *West-Saxons*; but in the Preface to those Laws he speaks of this as the ancient Usage of the English (b).

(a) Concil.
Brit. Vol. i.
pag. 375.

(b) Concil.
Brit. Vol. i.
pag. 362.

And yet he that pretends to judge of the great Councils of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, by the present Constitution of an English Parliament, may possibly be as much deceived as those Men are who derive this

Constitution wholly from the *Normans*; but he that can be content to see the Plan and first Lines of this August Assembly in these Ages, and will look to the Changes and Alterations in the Property, and to the experience of the Ages succeeding the *Norman* Revolution, for the finishing of this Structure, has, it may be, a just History of the Great Council of this Realm, and may possibly see reason to think they are equally in the wrong, who run into the opposite extreams on this subject.

For he who lodges a despotick Power in the hands of our Princes, before the Reign of *Henry* the Third; and will not allow their great Council any share in the Legislature, has not only the Authority of our Historians, but the universal Practice of all the Northern Nations to contend withal; and, on the other hand, those who pretend to say, that the Lower Ranks of the *Saxon* People had the same share in the Legislature the Commons of *England* have for some Ages enjoyed, and will, I hope, enjoy, whilst the Nation has a Being, have an undertaking upon their hands, not only above the Abilities, but beyond the comprehensions of other Men. But without running into either of these extreams, it may be said with Truth and Modesty, for the honour of the English Government, that the first Plan and great Lines of our present Constitution, are as ancient as the English Nation; and our present Establishment older, and more agreeable to the ancient Northern Government, than any other Government now in *Europe*.

Anno
894.

SECT. XI. But to return to that which better comports with the subject and design of this Work, the Interests of Learning and Religion; these are things of a finer Texture than the Civil Rights and Secular Interests of Men, and commonly suffer more by the Calamities of War, than those Interests do which are better able to bear up against them: This was the case of these Nations, and this the product of the long War with the *Danes*; if the Country was laid waste, the Lands remain'd immoveable, a great part of the People escaped the Sword, and the great Lines of Government were still undefaced; but Learning, which in the preceding Age shone so bright in *England*, that it was the School to neighbouring Nations; that *Rome* it self envied us the Glory of *Bede*, and *France* was indebted to us for *Alcu-*
inus,

inus, and owes the Plan and first Draught of that University to him, which has continued to this Day the Glory of that Nation.

But a Nation is reduced to a miserable state when it has nothing to boast of, but an extinguish'd, or at best, a dying Glory; and this was our case; for whatever the state of Learning had been in the beginning of this and the preceding Age, it was now reduced to such a state, that in his Preface to the Pastoral of St. Gregory, translated into English by King *Alfred*, that Prince thus laments the Ignorance which had over-spread the Nation.

“Whereas, saith he, in times past, Foreigners came to
“*England* in search of Wisdom and Learning, now we
“our selves are forced to go abroad to seek for them;
“whilst so gross an Ignorance overspreads the English
“Nation, that there are few on this side *Humber* that
“understand their Prayers in the English Tongue, or can
“turn a piece of *Latin* into *English*; of these, saith he,
“there were so few, that when I came to the Crown I
“do not remember so much as one Man on the South
“side of the *Thames* (a).

(a) Prefatio
Alfredi Col.
Camden.
pag. 27.

Nor will this appear strange, when it is remembred, that Monasteries and Religious Houses, which, from the first planting of Christianity amongst the English, had been the chief Schools of Learning, were for the most part laid in Ashes or Ruines; and which is more, the Monastick Life was at this time so far from the Reputation it met with in the last Age, that when *Alfred* had built a Monastery at *Athelney* in *Somerset-shire* he was forced to send into *France*, and pick up Men of divers Nations to fill it: And which is more, *Afferius* saith, that for some Years past, not only the English, but many other Nations, had lost all esteem of the Monastick Life, such a mighty change had time produced in the Sentiments and Affections of the English Nation, that they who but an Age before were to a Fault fond of the Monastick Life, now could not be prevailed on to entertain a kind thought of it.

Quia per multa retroacta Annorum curricula Monastica vita desiderium ab illâ totâ gente nec non & à multis aliis gentibus funditus desierat. *Afferius* de *Alfredi* gestis *Camdeni* Col. pag. 18.

And it is probable that this consideration might put this Prince on providing for the Interest of Religion and Learning, in a manner different from that of his Predecessors; and well foreseeing the difficulty of forcing the

Genius

Genius of a Nation, instead of confining Learning to Episcopal Colleges and Monasteries, he cast about how to promote the Interests of Learning in another manner: And it is not unlikely that this gave the first thought to erecting a College in *Oxford*, now known by the Name of *University-College*.

(a) *Afferius*
de Gestis Al-
fredi, pag. 16.

Anno
900.

SECT. XII. Thus much is evident, that notwithstanding what *Afferius* (a) has said of an University founded in *Oxford* in the time of the *Britons*, and that *Gildas*, *Melkin*, and *Nennius* had their Education therein, King *Alfred* is not only owned as the Founder of *University-College*, but in the Commemorations of the University of *Oxford*, he has, to this Day, the Honour of being reputed the Founder thereof; but whether he was the Founder or Restorer of that venerable Body, it is certain this Prince spared no cost nor labour to provide the most eminent Professors that could be drawn together, either by Favour or Rewards; and amongst those who made the greatest Figure were *Grimbald*, a Monk of *France*, and *John*, a *French-man*; and so successful was this great Prince, that although that venerable Body has been subject to the common Fate of things, yet it has for the most part maintained a steady and unclouded Luster, till by the particular Cares of Providence, and the Bounty and Charity of Holy Men, it is at last arrived to a pitch of Glory beyond comparison, exceeding all the neighbouring Nations.

And thus it remains to this Day, and without a Rival, except at home, in that other most eminent Nursery of Religion and Learning, the University of *Cambridge*; in whose flourishing Estate God has redoubled his Blessings on the English Nation; and in the elegant Structures, munificent Provisions for the encouragement of Learning, the numbers of eminent Professors and Students, and exactness of Discipline and Order, these two Bodies have given the World such proof of the Zeal and Passion of the English Nation, for the Interests of Learning, as are no where else to be found in the World.

But because this noble Design must have lost a great part of its usefulness, if provision had not been made elsewhere for the Elements and first Foundations of Learning; therefore this Prince erected Schools in several

ral Parts of his Kingdom : And if we may rely on the Authority of *Brompton*, by a Law obliged all the People of Ability, through his whole Kingdom, to send their Children to those Schools (a). Thus much at least is evident from his Preface to *Gregory's* Pastoral, that he had come to Resolutions of this kind, (b) that Children should be sent to School to learn to read English, and Write, before they should be put to any Calling.

(a) X. Scriptor.
Col. 814.

(b) Præfatio
Alfredi Col.
Camden.
pag. 28.

But whether he lived to reduce this Resolution into a Law, one would not be forward to determine ; for no such Law appears amongst those which are published under his Name : And if those Laws were compiled during his Reign over the *West-Saxons*, and before the settlement of the Monarchy, and another Body of Laws after that Settlement, as the Writer of his Life conjectures, and not without some grounds ; yet it is evident, that no such Collection ever descended to Posterity, and the few remains we have thereof are very dark and imperfect.

SECT. XIII. But if the pleasure of that Prince in this particular, was not enforced by a Law, there can be no reason to doubt the Zeal of that Prince to establish Schools, and promote the Interests of Learning through his whole Kingdom ; and amongst those Men which the encouragement of this Prince drew from abroad, *Johannes Duns Scotus*, sometimes called *Scotus Erigena*, deserves a particular remembrance : The Figure he made in the Disputes of the Age, and his Fate, will not suffer Posterity to forget him.

Anno
900.

Amongst the Writers of this Age *Paschasius*, a Monk of *Corbey* in *France*, in the beginning of this Century, distinguished himself by broaching an Opinion, concerning the Corporal Presence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament, a Doctrine unknown to the first Ages, and which has given great occasions of uneasiness and dispute to all that succeeded : But though the Ignorance of the Age seems well fitted for a Doctrine of this kind, yet it was at first broached, as it has ever since been maintained and defended with great struggle and opposition : Nor is this to be wondred at, when *Monsieur Mabillon* does not stick to own, that *Paschasius's* Saying, that the Body of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament was the same Body which had been born of the Blessed

Virgin, was a way of speaking unusual in the Christian Church (a).

(a) M. D. Pin.
Eccles. Hist.
Cent. 9. p. 71.

And the consequence was such as might be expected, for this Novel-Doctrine of *Paschasius* gave great Offence to the *French*, and was first opposed by an Anonymous Writer, and then by *Bertramus*, Abbot of *Corbey*, and afterward by *Johannes Scotus*, both which later Writers, at the Instance of *Charles the Bald*, wrote against this new Opinion; at least they were consulted on this occasion by that Prince (b), and from thence received their first thoughts of writing on that Subject; it was likewise by the particular appointment of that Prince that *Scotus* was engaged in translating the Works of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, as appears by his Epistle to that Prince (c).

(b) D. Pin.
Eccles. Hist.
Cent. 9. p. 77.

(c) Usherii
Epist. Hyber-
nicar. Sylloge.
pag. 88.

But this Controversy, relating to the manner of *CHRIST*'s Presence in the Holy Sacrament, though it disturbed the Peace of the *Gallick Churches* about this time, had hitherto given no uneasiness to the Church of *England*; and for that reason will be more properly considered in another place, and is but hinted at here to give some knowledge of the Abilities of *Scotus*, and the Figure he made in *France*; he was brought, or came into *England* in the Reign of King *Alfred*, and engaged in the Instruction of Youth in *Malmsbury* in *Wiltshire*, where he had the hard Fate to be stabbed to Death with Penknives, by the Boys committed to his care. (d)

(d) Alfredi
Vit. pag. 99.

(e) Asserius
de Gestis Al-
fredi Col.
Camd. p. 19.

Anno
900.

Another of those Learned Men, which King *Alfred* brought into *England*, had the same Fate with *Scotus*; but with this difference, that his Murder was the effect of premeditation and design; and this was *John*, a Monk, brought from *France*, and by King *Alfred* made Abbot of *Athelney*, he was murdered by his Monks at his Devotions in the Church (e). Such discouragements lie cross the way of the best laid Designs.

SECT. XIV. But if this Prince did not succeed in those brave Designs he had formed for the good of his People, yet Posterity has been just in giving him the Honour of them; besides, he had the comfort of sharing himself in the benefit he designed for others; and by the assistance of *Plegmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Werefrith*, Bishop of *Worcester*; *Asserius*, the Writer of his Story; and the forementioned Learned Men, he made

made himself so much Master of the *Latin* Tongue, that he translated into *English* several useful things, amongst which the History of *Bede*, and the Pastoral of *Gregory the Great*, as by his appointment *Werefrith*, Bishop of *Worcester* did his Dialogues.

And if the Authorities quoted by the Learned Publisher of the *Gothick* and *Saxon* Gospels may be relied on, King *Alfred* translated not only the Psalms of *David*, but the whole Old and New Testament into *English* (a).

(a) T. Marechalli observ. in Version Ang. Sax. pag. 488.

And whatever has been said of the Dangers which may arise to the Church from the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue, to say nothing of what was done abroad, the Britons, the Scots, and *Picts*, as well as the *English*, had the Holy Scriptures in their several Tongues (b).

(b) Bed. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 1. cap. 1.

And if this was not the case of the *English Saxons*, from the first Settlement of Christianity amongst them, 'tis very evident from what has been frequently said before, that King *Alfred* had not the Honour to be the first beginner of so useful a Design, as the translating the Holy Scriptures: But the share he is on all hands allowed to have had in so valuable an undertaking, is such as ought never to be forgotten. Nor did the Piety and Zeal of this great Man determine here, but the better to give the Clergy a just Idea of the Duty charged upon their Holy Function, and enable them by their good Conduct, and by the exemplariness of their Lives, to make up the Misfortune they suffered under from the Ignorance of the Age: He caused his Translation of *Gregory's* Pastoral to be sent to every Diocese; and from that Regularity, Order, and Devotion which his own exemplary Piety had introduced into his Court, he endeavoured to spread a Spirit of Seriousness and Devotion throughout his Kingdom.

And for this end he gave the Bishops and Clergy the highest Marks of his Esteem and Favour; and all possible encouragement in the discharge of their Holy Office: And this encouragement, and the particular tenderness he ever treated those with, who distinguish'd themselves either by their Abilities and Learning, or their Zeal for God's Service, produced such a mighty change within the compass of this Prince's Reign, that in the same Work, wherein he saith, when he came to the Crown, there was scarce a Clergy-man, South of

Hum-

(b) *Epist.*
Aluredi. ad
Wulstan. E-
pum. Concil.
Brit. Tom. I.
pag. 379.

Humber able to construe a piece of *Latin*: He thanks God there were in his time some who came to such degrees of Learning, that they were fitted for the Instruction of others (a): Such sudden and mighty changes do the Spirit and *Genius* of a wise Prince produce.

Nor did his countenancing Learning and Religion determine in Personal Favours and Esteem of the Clergy, but he took all possible care to convey to after-Ages, such veneration and esteem for Religion and Learning, and that Order of Men who were appointed to watch over the Interests of Truth and Holiness, as he himself had raised up in the Age in which he lived; and therefore in the Body of Laws composed whilst he was only a titular Monarch, and in truth King of the *West-Saxons*: He granted great Immunities to the Clergy, to the Places dedicated to God's Service, and provided for the great Interests of Religion.

And it is very likely, that if that addition of Laws, which, upon good grounds, the Writer of his Life thinks to have been made after the Settlement of the Monarchy had been preserved to after-Ages, we had had still greater Marks of the Zeal and Concern of this Prince, for the Honour of G O D and his Church.

Anno
 900.

SECT. XV. And indeed, if the World had never had any other proofs of the Wisdom and Piety of this Prince, than those which yet appear in the Body of Laws composed at the Settlement of the *Danish* Colony, that alone is very extraordinary, and the Occasion and Circumstances thereof so remarkable, that they ought never to be forgotten, though without breaking the Series of Story they could not be remembered in the just order of Time.

After a long and bloody War betwixt King *Alfred* and the *Danes*, that Prince having reduced his Enemies to such Difficulties, that they were forced to sue for Peace, to make it appear that he knew how not only to Conquer, but to Forgive, and do Good to his Enemies, He consented that *Guthram*, the General and King of the *Danes*, then in *England*, together with those of his Nation, should settle themselves in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, to be held as a Tributary Kingdom under himself; but upon this

Con-

condition that they should all turn Christians : And so much did he lay this consideration to Heart, that whilst we hear little of the Articles which relate to their Civil Rights, those wherein the Christianity of that People were immediately concerned, are very full, and preserved to this Day as a standing Monument of the Passion of that Prince for the Honour of God ; and these pass by the Title of the Ecclesiastical Laws of King *Alfred*, and *Guthram*, King of the *Danes*, and are said to be made at the finishing of the League betwixt those Princes ; yet in truth are little else but Articles of Agreement, wherein to secure the steadiness and direct the conduct of the new Converts in the great Duties of Christianity ; and to prevent their relapse to the Superstition and Idolatry of their former state, they were to hold the Favours of King *Alfred* upon no other terms than doing their Duty to God, and persevering in the Religion of *Christ*.

SECT. XVI. And therefore the first Article is, that the *Danes* should renounce Paganism, and agree in the Worship of the true God (a). Anno 900.

2. The second directs the Punishment in case of Apostacy. The three following give Rules for the Conduct of the Clergy.

9. The ninth prescribes the Punishment of those who withhold their Tythes. And almost all that follow provide for the regular observance of the Fasts and Festivals of the Church ; and in particular for that of the Lord's-Day. In short, of the whole seventeen Articles, of which this League did consist, there is not one which does not respect the Interest of Religion, or the conduct of those whose Duty it was to attend upon it.

It is hard to say when this League was made, but it is most probable it was made the same Year wherein *Guthram*, King of the *Danes*, and the great Commanders in his Army, were baptized, viz. the Year 877, at which time the Peace betwixt the *English* and *Danes* was made, and the *Danes* allowed to settle themselves in the Easterly Parts of *England*. *Guthram* survived this his Conversion about fourteen Years, and, for ought appears to the contrary, was just to his Agreement : And as he maintained his Friendship with King *Alfred* to the last ; so it is not unlikely that this Peace broke the Storm which threatned *England* by the *Norman* Adventurers under

(a) Gemitic.
Col. Camdeni
pag. 612. &
613.

Rollo, who came into *England* (a), and having staid some time in *Norfolk*, and entred into Friendship with King *Guthram*, and received some assistance from him, without making any attempt upon *England*, he sailed to *France*, where he acquired to himself the Title of Duke of *Normandy*.

(b) Concil.
Brit. Tom. 1.
pag. 390.

SECT. XVII. And it is very probable that this League betwixt King *Alfred* and the *Danes* was renew'd after the Death of *Alfred*, by *Edward* his Son, with the Successor of *Guthram*; and that the Terms were still the same: And that this is the reason why a fragment of the same Agreement is communicated to the Publick, under the Title of the Ecclesiastick Laws of *Edward*, the Elder King of *England*, and *Guthram* King of the *Danes*, in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, (b) though it is no doubt but there is a Mistake in this particular; for it is certain that *Guthram* died nine or ten Years before the Death of King *Alfred*, and so before *Edward* came to the Crown of *England*. But to return.

Anno
900.

King Alfred
dies.

Whilst King *Alfred* was endeavouring, in his Example, to give Posterity a view of the great things which may be done by the Zeal and Piety of a wise and an active Prince; and labouring to promote the Interests of Justice, and good order of Learning and Religion; and his great Designs were yet but in their Infancy, it pleased GOD to take this Prince to himself, the twenty sixth of *October*, in the Year nine hundred, according to *Afferius*; the Year following, according to the *Saxon-Chronicle*, after a Reign of nine and twenty or thirty Years, as *Afferius* and the *Saxon Chronicle* do differently relate it. He was buried at *Winchester* in the Cathedral Church.

King Edward
the Elder,
October 26.
Anno 900.

In this posture stood the Affairs of the Church of *England*, when *Edward* the Eldest Son of King *Alfred*, and commonly known by the Name of *Edward* the Elder, came to the Crown of *England*.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVIII.

Ab Anno 901 ad Annum 941.

SECT. I. **T**HE beginning of Edward's Reign disturbed: This Prince said to be Excommunicated, and his Kingdom put under an Interdict by Pope Formosus, for neglecting to fill the vacant Bishopricks.

II. The original and improbability of that Story.

III. Mr. Cresse's attempt to remove the difficulties of that Story insufficient.

IV. Seven Bishops said to be consecrated by Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury: Some new Bishopricks erected, not owing to the Papal Power: Supremacy of the King in Ecclesiastical Causes hitherto owned by the Church of England.

V. The earliest Writers make no mention of the Interdict of the Kingdom, or of the Excommunication of the King: Every thing runs into confusion.

VI. Misery and Confusions of the English Church, short of those in the Church of Rome: The folly of that pretence which makes Prosperity the Mark of the true Church.

VII. The sad estate of the Romish Church in this Age.

VIII. The general decay of Learning and Religion in the Western Nations. Edward the Elder dies: Athelstan succeeds: The Trifling and Fictions of the Legendary Writers.

IX. Dunstan born. King Athelstan his Care of the Church: Confirms his Father's Grants of Tythes: Holds some Councils for Ecclesiastical Affairs.

X. Ecclesiastical Laws ascribed to King Athelstan. Dunstan banished.

XI. The Honours paid to the Clergy and Men of Learning. King Athelstan dies.

Not-

Anno
901.

(a) Asserii
Annal. An.
901.

SECT. I. **N**otwithstanding all the Precaution and Wisdom of King *Alfred*, in the Settlement of the Church and Monarchy, the Reign of his Son began in the Misfortunes new Governments are usually subject to; for scarce sooner was the Ceremony of his Unction performed by *Plegmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, when *Æthelwald* his Cousin, and probably Son to *Æthelred*, Brother to King *Alfred*, withdrew himself privately from the Court, and went over to the *Danes* (a), who had possessed themselves of some of the Northern parts of *England*; and being chosen King by them did for some Years give a great deal of Trouble and Disquiet to the new Reign of King *Edward*, which ended at last in the Death of *Æthelwald*, and *Eorick*, Tributary King of those *Danes*, who were settled in the Eastern parts of *England* under the former Reign, and which Prince *Æthelwald* had seduced from his Duty. The Death of these Princes was followed with a Peace, about the Year 907.

Anno
904.

(b) Malmsb.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. Lib. 2.
fol. 26.

But before this War was concluded, King *Edward* is said to be attacked in a manner unknown to all the past Ages, and which might possibly have remained a Secret to those to come, if some of our later Historians had not been fortunate in a discovery which escaped those who lived before them; for *Malmsbury* tells us, (b) that Pope *Formosus* being informed that all the West of *England*, comprehending the whole Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, had lain unprovided of Bishops for seven whole Years, that Prelate, out of his Zeal for the Glory of GOD, sent a Bull to King *Edward*, Interdicting his Kingdom, and Excommunicating him and all his Subjects, till the vacant Bishopricks were filled up, and such new ones erected as should be thought necessary.

This treatment so alarmed this Prince, that, as the same Author saith, he called a Synod this Year, in which *Plegmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, presided; and wherein, instead of two Bishopricks in the West of *England*, five were erected, and so many new Bishops chosen: This being done, the Archbishop hastened away presently to *Rome*, and with rich Presents and great Submission appeased the Anger of *Formosus*, and obtained from him a confirmation of what had thus passed in *England*,

England, and then returning to England, it is said that in one Day he consecrated seven new Bishops; and that these were *Tridestan* for *Winchester*, *Adelstan* to *Cornwall*, *Werston* to *Sherborn*, *Athelelm* to *Wells*, and *Eidulphus* to *Credington*; for *Seolfey*, *Bernegus*; and for *Dorchester*, *Cenulphus*.

SECT. II. Though as Mr. *Wharton* observes, (a) Anno
there is a fragment of an History, thought to be wrote 904.
by a Monk of *Abingdon* in the Tenth Century, which (a) *Anglie Sac.*
mentions the Consecration of seven Bishops in the Year *Par. i. p. 554.*
904; yet, if I mistake not, *Malmsbury* is the first Person
to whom the World is obliged for the Account of King
Edward's Excommunication, and *Formosus's* confirming
what was done in *England*; at least it appears, that *Bar-*
ronius takes his Account from him; and from that Au-
thor the forefaid Story is derived into the Collections of
Spelman and *Labbe*; but wheresoever this Story had its
beginning, it has been received by so many of our own
Historians, that if the many Inconsistencies in the Story it-
self did not justify the doubt, the number of the Au-
thorities would not permit one to call the Story into
question.

But the Character of King *Alfred*, and his Zeal for
the Church, and the Impossibilities in point of Time,
seem to over-balance all the Authorities on the side of
this Story; for one cannot easily think that *Alfred* could
be guilty of such a shameful neglect whilst he lived;
and it is still harder to form any Idea of *Formosus's*
Zeal for the Church, after that Prelate himself was dead;
and yet at the first view of this Story these Difficulties
stand in our way.

For *Formosus*, Bishop of *Rome*, came to the Papacy in
the Year 891, and died in the beginning of the Year
896, and the Year following was taken out of his Grave,
by the appointment of his Successor *Stephen*; and his
Corps being array'd in his Episcopal Robes, was charg'd
with usurping the See of *Rome*; and then the Episcopal
Robes being taken off his Body, it was by the command-
ment of *Stephen* cast into the River *Tiber*: (b) And
therefore *Baronius*, who relates this inhuman and bar- (b) *Baron.*
barous Proceeding, foreseeing how odly it would ap- *Annal. An.*
pear to bring this Prelate from the Dead, to exercise his 897.
Authority upon an English Prince, undertakes to say,

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there

there is a Mistake in the Chronology of *Malmsbury*, and that the Year 904 is mistaken for the Year 894; but this only changes, but does not remove the difficulty; for if *Formosus* was alive in that Year, it is as certain that King *Alfred* was alive to, and that *Edward* came not to the Crown till six Years after; so that it is certain, that *Edward* and *Formosus* were not King and Pope together; but, on the contrary, *Formosus* was dead at least four Years before *Edward* came to the Crown.

Anno
904.

(a) Cressley's
Ch. Hist.
An. 994.

SECT. III. Mr. *Cressley* well foreseeing how little this inconsistent Story would agree with his own Account of *Formosus*, and of King *Edward's* accession to the Crown, after all that *Malmsbury*, and the Historians which follow him, have said of *Formosus's* excommunicating King *Edward*, and the mighty stress *Parsons* had laid upon this Instance, to prove the Power of the Bishops of *Rome* over the Kings of *England*, tells us, that the Epistle of *Formosus* was wrote to the Bishops of *England*, to command them to be watchful and courageous in the discharge of their Duty, (a) but saith not a word of the excommunicating of the King by *Formosus*; and he was doubtless in the right, in respiting the Censure of a King, which he was sure was not in being, till after the Death of *Formosus*.

But to make amends for the Wrong he had done in spoiling a Story so useful to the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, he follows *Polidore Virgil*, and ventures to cross the Authority of *Baronius*, *Malmsbury*, and of all the *English* Writers who relate this Story, and fixes this Excommunication upon Pope *John*, who was possessed of the See of *Rome*, in the Year 905; and to do him Right, there is a great deal of reason to think there is as much truth in ascribing this Affair to Pope *John*, as to *Formosus*. There are several other conjectures advanced by the Learned *Spelman*, the Publishers, and the Annotators on the Councils, to reconcile the Inconsistencies of the fore said Story; but, after all, the Difficulties are still invincible; and the Story seems to deserve no better place than amongst the Legends of the Age.

And the Mistakes in all the other parts of the Story are no less visible; for whereas it is said, that the Bishopricks

shopricks of *Winchester* and *Sherborn* had been void seven Years, ending in the Year 904, it is evident, that *Denulphus* was made Bishop of *Winchester*, in the Year 879, and died not till the Year 909; (a) and *Afferius*, who was Bishop of *Sherborn*, during the Reign of King *Alfred*, did not die till the Year 909 (b). Besides it is very evident, that from the time that King *Edward* came to the Crown, till the Year 906, that Prince was engaged in a perpetual War, and had no leisure, indeed scarce a possibility of undertaking such a change in the Affairs of the Church, if the negligence of his Father had made it necessary.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.
909.

(b) Afferii
Annal. A 909.

Anno
909.

SECT. IV. But though the circumstances of the fore-
said Story seem to be nothing else but an incoherent Scene of Fiction, there is ground to think there is truth in what is said of the erecting new Bishopricks about this time, and the consecration of seven Bishops in one Day, by *Plegmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign; and there is great probability on the side of the Opinion, which from the Authority of *Diceto* (c) is advanced by the Judicious and Learned Mr. *Wharton* (d), who fixes this Affair in the compass of this Year, and concludes what is said of the Excommunication of the King, or Interdict of the Kingdom, and the Pope's confirming the Division of the Western Dioceses, and the election of the Bishops thereof, together with the Bull of *Formosus*, to be an Addition, if not the Fiction of those Writers, who making their Judgment of things past, by the receiv'd Rules of the Age in which they lived, concluded from the Interest the Bishops of *Rome* possess in their Times, in the founding of Bishopricks and confirming of Bishops, that these Transactions passed with the approbation of the Pope; whereas it is very evident, that the Doctrines of Interdicting Kingdoms, and Excommunicating Kings, were yet unknown to the World.

(c) Abbreviat.
Chronicon.
An. 908.
(d) Angliæ
Sac. Part 1.
pag. 554.

And it is as evident, that from the first Settlement of Christianity amongst the English, the Kings of *England*, with the Advice of their Bishops and People, founded or divided Bishopricks as they saw cause, and without expecting any Authority or Allowance or Approbation from abroad. And the great number of Ecclesiastical Laws made by King *Alfred*, and *Edward* his Son, as well

well as by their Predecessors, and this too with the advice and good-liking of their Clergy, leave no possibility of doubting that the Supremacy in Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Causes, was hitherto esteemed the undoubted Right of the Kings of *England*.

Anno

909.

SECT. V. And this consideration, together with the silence of *Afferius*, who lived at this time, and the *Saxon Chronicle*, who say not a word of the 'foresaid Interdict or Excommunication, or of the pretended confirmation of the new Bishopricks, do still more confirm one in a belief, that those Circumstances are owing to after-Ages; besides, there is great reason on the side of that conjecture, which postpones the erecting of the new Bishopricks till the Year 909; for it appears, that the Bishops of *Sherborn* and *Winchester* died both in that Year, which made it easie to divide their Dioceses, and proportion the Revenues and Districts of the new Bishopricks.

(a) *Afferii*
Annal. An.
909.

And it is evident, that *Tristan*, Bishop of *Winchester*, was not raised to this high Trust till this Year (a); and that *Dorchester* and *Seolfsey* had been void for several Years; and these four Bishopricks being void this Year, it is easy to think, that the King taking the advantage of these Avoidances, might erect the three new Western Bishopricks, and the tradition for the Consecration of seven Bishops in one Day, may, as the Learned *Mr. Wharton* conjectures, thus possibly be accounted for, whilst the 'foresaid Additions to it can never be esteem'd otherwise than as Fiction and Imagination, by any one who considers the Age, the Chronology, the Character of King *Alfred*, together with the Circumstances of the Story.

Anno

911.

Amongst those Bishops consecrated by *Plegmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Athelm*, Bishop of *Wells*, and Successor to the Archbishop in the See of *Canterbury*, was one; for *Plegmund* died about the Year 923, the Year following *Athelm* was translated to the See of *Canterbury*. One would have hoped that the Church of *England* being thus provided with a fit number of Bishops, the favour and countenance of a wise and active Prince, added to the Provision and Encouragements for Learning, might have answered the Hopes and Cares of its Patrons; but a little time shewed how easily the over-
ruling

ruling Hand of Providence can disappoint the wisest Measures, and bring to nothing the fairest Hopes.

For about this time the War broke out again ; and though it had some short Intervals, it lasted so long, that King *Edward* lived to act a great part in it, but never to see it ended ; and the Mischiefs to the Church and Religion, and the Interests of Learning, were such as might be expected in a Nation covered with Confusion and Blood ; for notwithstanding the Cares and Zeal of the Bishops and Clergy, every thing ran into Confusion and Disorder about this time.

SECT. VI. And notwithstanding the vain pretences of those who judge of Truth by Prosperity, and make flourishing the distinguishing Mark of the true Church, miserable at this time was the whole state of the Western Church ; and if there was a difference betwixt the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, it lay chiefly in this, that the case of *Rome* was much the saddest, and lasted longest. GOD thought fit to chastise the English Church, but it was by the Hands of their Enemies ; they had the misfortune of Suffering, but not the guilt of their own ruine ; but this uncomfortable circumstance added weight to the Misery of the Church of *Rome*, that its Misery was from it self, and their Sorrows had their beginning from those who ought to have loved and prayed for, or died for its Peace, their own Bishops ; for to say nothing of what the Church of *Rome* suffered by the *Saracens*, *Huns*, and *Lombards*, the Mischiefs are scarce to be expressed, which the wickedness of those who held that Chair drew upon it.

Anno

911.

The Wealth and Authority which *Charles the Great*, and the succeeding Emperors had conferred upon the Bishops of *Rome*, had raised those Prelates to the grandeur and state of Princes ; and this consideration so fired the Ambition of their Clergy, that *Platina* saith, that Ambition and Faction, Simony and Bribery, and sometime Poisoning and Assassinations, and the blackest Villanies, had all their turns in voiding and filling up the Papacy ; so that from the Death of *Adrian* the Third, in the Year 885, till the advancement of *Gregory* the Seventh, in the Year 1074, containing the Successions of above fifty Popes, if the Authority of *Platina* may be relied upon, the Papacy fell into the hands of Men so pro-

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digiously wicked, as are no where else to be found in any History of the World.

And if this was not the case of *Formosus*, for whose Care and Zeal to the English Church some Men so earnestly contend, it is certain, that what is added to his Character, must be taken from that of his Successor *Stephen*; for no Art can brighten the one, without making the other the blackest Monster in the World; for it is evident, that *Stephen* and his Synod not only pronounced *Formosus* an Usurper of the Holy Chair, and treated his Corps with such circumstances of Inhumanity, as are not to be found in the Story of *Nero*, but pronounced his Ordinations void, (a) and forced several Priests to be re-ordained, and the Bishops he had made, to receive new Consecration.

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
897.

Anno
912.

(b) Baron.
Annal.
An. 912.

(c) Ibid.

SECT. VII. And things were so far from being better, that the Account of *Baronius* this Year, makes them infinitely worse; for now the pretended Mistress of other Churches was, as that Learned Writer saith, under the government of Harlots, (b) who not only advanced Bishops and Priests, suitable to the Character of those whose Creatures they were, but filled the Chair of *St. Peter* with Impostors (c). I have led the Reader into this melancholly Story, partly to clear what is said before in the Affair of the pretended Interdict; and partly, that by giving a view of the present state of the Romish Church, and of the Characters of the Men who filled that Chair, and the Difficulties they had to keep it, the better to enable him to make a true Judgment of the Figure those Prelates made in this Age; and shew how little probability there is in those fond things said by the later Writers of that Communion, of the Power of those Prelates in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.

And one who considers this well, cannot but stand amazed at the confidence with which *Polidore Virgil*, and some other Writers speak of *England* as a Fee of the Papacy, and a Tributary Kingdom, in an Age when the wickedness of its Prelates had rendred that Church the Pity or Contempt of *Europe*. Nor am I singular in this observation, but both *Malmsbury* and *Dunelmensis* have gone before me, and agree both in the Contempt and Scorn the Papal Dignity at this time laboured under; and in recounting the Reasons thereof they also agree in

in laying the blame on the Impieties of those who filled that Chair; and what is said above from *Baronius*, confirms the Sentiments of those Writers.

SECT. VIII. And which is sadder still, these Afflictions were not peculiar to the Churches of *England* and *Rome*, but a general decay of Learning, and Religion, and Discipline, spread it self over the whole Western Church; and this so gross and visible, as has given just occasion for the reproach cast on the Tenth Century, under the opprobrious Title of the *Leaden Age*. GOD knows this was too much the case of *England* at present, and the influence on the time to come was such as might be expected; and therefore, unless it were the Death of *Plegmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the Year 923, and of his Successor *Athelm*, about two Years after, and some other Fathers of the Church, there is scarce any thing that will deserve remembrance, till the Death of *Edward* the Elder, at *Farendon* in *Berk-shire*, in the Year 925. *Æthelstan*, Son to *Edward* the Elder, succeeded to his Crown as *Wulfhelm* did to *Athelm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, both in the compass of this Year.

Anno
923.

King Edward
the Elder dies.

King Æthelst.
Anno 925.

Æthelstan was a bold and warlike Prince, and by his Successes against the *Danes* seated in the North of *England*, his Victories over the *British* and *Irish Scots*, and the great things he did for the re-establishing of the English Monarchy, he has furnished the Histories of the States with Notices too material to be forgotten, whilst the History of the Church remains as dry and barren as it was before, and affords entertainment for such Men only whose vitiated Palates relish nothing but what a wise Man would be ashamed to relate; and yet such pains do we see some Historians take to give a turn to every thing so forced and unnatural, as if they were to entertain the Reader, as GOD provided for the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, with a continued Scene of Miracles: And such is the affinity betwixt some Legendary and Poetick Writers, that the Fiction appears so equal on both sides, that it is hard to say, whether the History of the Saint or of the Hero is the most Romantick, or to distinguish the History from the Poem, if the want of Taste and Spirit on one side, and the Life and Relish of the other, did not determine.

Anno
925.

And

And thus Posterity loses the Advantage and Benefit which might have been hoped for from the Examples of some Great and Holy Men, by the unhappy Zeal of those who have had the penning of their Story, for their Figures are usually so much too big for the Life, that the Example appears too great for imitation, and their Story is lost by being made incredible; for Men that indulge in Liberties of this kind, put the Faith of others so much on the reserve, that they who frequently Lye, are seldom believed when they speak Truth.

Anno
925.

SECT. IX. Though there is too much reason for it, yet I shall not apply this to the Histories of *St. Dunstan*, who is said to have been born this Year, and to have been ushered into the World by a Scene of Miracles: But leaving the Writers of his Life to enjoy the Miracles of his Birth and younger Years, I shall content my self silently to follow him to the See of *Canterbury*; and in the mean time, it will be fit to turn, and gather up the imperfect Remains we have of our Ecclesiastical Affairs under the busy and warlike Reign of King *Æthelstan*.

Anno
928.

Tho' *Æthelstan's* Reign was little else but a continued Scene of War, and his Sword scarce ever sheathed till it was laid up in his Grave; yet he did not forget the Patterns his Grandfather and Father had set before him, nor the Duty he owed to GOD, as the Defender of his Church; but, as occasion served, he called his Clergy and Nobility together, to provide for the Interests of Religion; and though the Dates and Results of the Assemblies he convened are for the most part lost, and we hear little more of them than that he held several Councils of this kind at *Exeter*, *Feverham*, *Thunderfield*, *London*, and *Greatlea*.

Yet by Remains we have of the Council said to be held at *Greatlea*, some Judgment may be made of what might have been expected, had the Resolutions of the other Councils been transmitted to Posterity. The Remains we have of this Council, said to be held this Year, and the third of his Reign, pass by the Name of the Ecclesiastical Laws of *Æthelstan*; and these give us great Marks of the Wisdom and Piety of this Prince; but withal, they yield an uncomfortable view of the Church and Religion of the Age.

SECT.

SECT. X. The first of these explains the Laws of his Father and Grandfather for the general payment of Tythes, and commands his Officers to pay the Tythes out of his Demesns, as well of his Cattle, as of the Fruits of the Ground; and requires his Nobility and Bishops to make the like payment out of their Estates, and to declare this as the Law of *England*, in all the Courts in which they preside. Anno 928.

The second reinforces the ancient, and, if I am not mistaken, the first legal Provision made for the Subsistence of the English Clergy, by a personal Tythe or Charge on every House-keeper, which is called the *Ciric-Sceat*, or Church-Tribute in the Language of *Bede*, and possibly may be the same Payment which under the Name of *Wax-shot*, a corruption of *Kirk shot*, is in some parts of *England* continued to this Day, at least by the *Cyric-Sceat*, one would think could not be meant the first Fruits of Seeds, as our late Writers from Mr. *Whe-lock* commonly render it; the reason is, that the Tythe of Seeds, as comprehended under Prædial Tythes is provided for by the preceding Law.

The third Law enjoins the Officers of the King to make a Provision for the Poor out of the Estate of the Crown.

The fourth directs the Punishment of Church-breakers.

The fifth of Sorcery and Witchcraft.

The sixth respects the Coinage of Money.

The seventh and eighth direct the manner and circumstances of the Ordeal Trials, or Trials by Fire or Water, and give the Offices of Religion, and the Holy Rites of the Gospel-Institution, so great a share in the regulation and conduct of those Pagan Practices as are very apt to give one a very melancholly Idea of the present state of Religion; for Fasting and Prayer, Confession of Sins, and Receiving the Holy Sacrament, the Preparatories here enjoined to the 'foresaid Purposes, shew at least a mighty mixture of Religion and Superstition.

The ninth has a mixture of Religious and Civil Rights, and at once directs the observance of the Lord's-Day, and appoints that Vouchers should be brought to attest the Rights of those who Sell; and that no Markets or Courts of Judicature be held on the Lord's-Day.

The tenth prescribes the Punishment of Perjury.

And so little was this Age acquainted with that Doctrine which exempts the Affairs of Religion, and the Persons of the Clergy from the Authority of the Princes under whom they live, that

The Eleventh Law establish'd in this Convention is a sort of Rubrick to the Bishops and Clergy in the discharge of their respective Duties, especially in those Instances which more immediately respect the Peace and Justice of the Subject; and here, according to the ancient Usage of *England*, the Bishops are obliged to be personally present in the Courts of Judicature, to over-see and direct the conduct of the Judges.

The twelfth Article prescribes the Religious Offices, which the Clergy were to perform for the King and his People.

The thirteenth ascertains the Fines chargeable on Offenders in Cases of Blood, and proportions them not by the proper nature of the Offence, but by the Character and Quality of the Persons murdered.

Anno
928.

SECT. XI. And here I must not omit to observe, the particular regard that this Age ever paid to Religion and Learning; for the stated Rules by which this Age judged of the Dignity and Honour due to Men, were either by the Fines imposed upon those who murdered them; or else by the weight their Testimony bore in Courts of Judicature: And in both the Instances the Clergy and Nobility are by the Laws of this Prince, as well as by those of his Predecessors placed upon the same level: The Fine for the murder of an Archbishop and an Earl are the same, that of a Bishop and a Judge are alike, and that of a Priest and of a Lord, or Thane are so too, (a) and their Testimonies bore the same proportion in Courts of Judicature; and thus too amongst the ways by which Men raised themselves to Honour, Learning, and Holy Orders, gave Men a Right by a Law of this Prince, (b) if not of this Council.

(a) Concil.
Brit. Tom. I.
pag. 406.

(b) Ibid.

Thus things passed in this Assembly; but from this time to the end of his Reign his time was so entirely taken up in his Wars with the *Danes*, the *Scots*, or *Britons*, that except some Instances of his Charity, in building and repairing of Churches and Monasteries, and the usual changes occasioned by the Death of several of the Bishops,

Bishops, we have little remains of what passed betwixt this Council and the end of King *Æthelstan's* Reign, relating to the Affairs of the Church, unless it may deserve to be remembred, that *Dunstan*, afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was introduced into the Court of this Prince, and banished thence again for suspicion of being guilty of Magick before the end of this Reign; but it will be time enough to consider his Story, when the long Controversy about the Marriage of the Clergy, begun by him, calls us to consider the Character and Conduct of that hot and indiscreet Prelate.

Anno
933.

After a Reign of about sixteen Years *Æthelstan*, Son of *Edward* the Elder, and Grandson to King *Alfred* died, this or the preceding Year, as our Historians differently relate it, at *Glocester*, and was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltshire*, and has left behind him the Reputation of a Wise and Just, of a Learned and Valiant Prince, beloved at home, and esteemed or feared abroad; and by the additions he made to his Dominions, by the Conquest of *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and forcing *Wales* to yield to a Tribute, he is by some reputed the Founder of the English Monarchy, though others ascribe that Honour to his Grandfather King *Alfred*, and most to *Egbert*.

Anno
941.
King *Æthelst.*
dies.

CHAP. XIX.

Ab Anno 941 ad Annum 969.

SECT. I. **E**dmund, Brother to *Æthelstan*, comes to the Crown: Odo Archbishop of *Canterb.* Affairs of the Church conducted by him. *Dunstan* banished a second time.

II. Odo said to refuse the Archbishoprick, because not bred a Monk: The grounds of that Story: The use the Monks made of that Story.

III. The improbability of that Story: Mr. *Cressley's* Argument for it not conclusive: Odo a wise and useful Prelate.

IV. The Constitutions of the Archbishop Odo: Their inconsistency with the Notions of Unity: And Schism ad-

*advanced by the late Writers of the Romish Church :
Some Reflections on those Constitutions.*

V. *A Council held at London : The Canons thereof :
The Death of Edmund and Succession of Edred.*

VI. *Edred a bold and active Prince : Settles his Af-
fairs in the North : Imprisons Wulstan, Archbishop of
York : Gives great encouragement to the rebuilding
of Monasteries.*

VII. *King Edred dies : Prodigious Wealth said to be
given by his Will, to the Clergy and Religious : King
Edwi succeeds : Banishes Dunstan : The Reasons
thereof assigned by the Writers of his Story.*

VIII. *Conjecture at the true Reason of Dunstan's Ba-
nishment : His Monastery of Glasfenbury destroyed.*

IX. *Dunstan assists Edgar in a Rebellion against his
Brother King Edwi : They force the King to part with
above half his Kingdom to Edgar : Edgar favours
the Monks : Edwi the Secular Clergy.*

X. *Dunstan made Bishop of Worcester by King Edgar.
Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury dies : Elsin made
Archbishop : And on his Death Brithelm : The ground-
less Pretensions of the Monks, that Dunstan refused
the Archbishoprick : Dunstan made Bishop of London,
and holds Worcester therewith : Thrusts Brithelm out
of his Chair, and is made Archbishop in his stead.*

XI. *Dunstan forms a design to drive the married Clergy
out of Cathedrals and Monasteries, and to bring in
Monks.*

XII. *State of the Clergy and Monasticks till the middle
of the Eighth Century.*

XIII. *Monasteries and Monks generally destroyed in the
later end of the Eighth and beginning of the Ninth
Century : No Monks in England in the later end of
the Ninth Century : The Clergy generally married.*

XIV. *No Judgment to be made of the ancient English
Monks by the late Monasteries : Seculars generally
the first Possessors of the English Monasteries and Ca-
thedrals : The Monks the Usurpers.*

XV. *Edgar's Character : Reasons which engaged him
in the Designs of Dunstan, to expel the Secular
Clergy : Æthelwulph, Bishop of Winchester, drives
the Secular Canons from his Cathedral, and places
Monks in their room.*

XVI. Of

XVI. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester, follows his Example, but meets with great resistance: That Cathedral consisted of Seculars from the Foundations thereof: The Bishops of Winchester and Worcester join in the design of Dunstan.

XVII. Edgar builds many Monasteries, and grants a Commission to Archbishop Dunstan, and the Bishops of Winchester and Worcester, to put the Seculars out of the great Monasteries and Cathedrals, and put Monks in their room.

SECT. I. **T**HE Death of Æthelstan made way for the Succession of his Brother Edmund, a young Prince of about eighteen Years of Age, who entering upon a weak and unsettled Government, met with some very rough shocks in the beginning of his Reign; for the English and Danes inhabiting North of Humber, made so vigorous and bold an effort, for shaking off the Yoke that Æthelstan put upon them, and the recovery of their ancient Liberty, that this Prince met with Difficulties which might have been of fatal consequence to him; for the pretensions of Analase, a Danish Prince, were so favoured in the North, that with the Advice of Odo and Wulstan, Archbishops of Canterbury and York, this Prince was forced to yield all that part of England which lies North of Watling-street, to the Government of Analase, (a) to be held of him as a tributary and dependant Kingdom.

Odo, a wise and active Prelate, was Archbishop of Canterbury when this Prince came to the Crown; by whose Councils the Affairs of the Church seem to have been conducted under this Reign; in the beginning whereof Dunstan, who had been banished from the Court of his Brother, was recalled by King Edmund, and received into Favour at Court; but his aspiring Spirit soon made him so many Enemies, that he was banished again before the end of the Year, (b) and sent into France, where it is said he retired to the Monastery of Fleury, and acquainted himself with the Benedictine Rule; and whether it was from the Passion for their Order those Foundations usually inspire Men with, or from the natural fierceness and impetuosity of his Temper, upon his re-

K k k k

turn,

Anno

941.

Edmund King
of England.(a) Osborni
X. Scriptor.
Col. 134.(b) Osborni
Vit. Dunst.
Ang. Sac.
Par. 2. p. 100.

turn, that Prelate brought back such Zeal and Passion for the Monastick Interest, as in a little while set the whole *English* Church and Nation into a Flame: And this has given good ground to the Writer of his Life to challenge to *Dunstan* the Honour of being the restorer of the Monastick Life; and there is such appearance of truth on the side of that pretence, that it might pass uncontradicted if the Monks of *Canterbury*, and those who contend for the Antiquity of the *Benedictines*, would not break in upon their Claim.

Anno

941.

*Annals
1149
Dunstan's
Life*

(a) Osbern
Vit. Odonis.
Ang. Sac.
Part 2. p. 81.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Page 82.*

SECT. II. But whatever is said by *Afferius*, and such other Writers, who lived in this Century, of the destruction of Monasteries, and the general failing of the Monastick Spirit, and what is said by the Writers of *St. Dunstan's* Life, of his restoring them again, yet the Monasticks had so visible an Interest in keeping the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* amongst themselves, that they generally tell us, that when *Odo*, the present Archbishop, and then Bishop of *Sherborn*, was invited to accept the Archbishoprick by King *Æthelstan*, and the Bishops of the Province concurred in that desire, *Odo* answered, that he had never been a Monk, and therefore could not assume that Dignity, which by the Custom of *England* had never been possessed by any, but such as had before made profession of a Religious state (a); but being still pressed, both by the King and Bishops, he desired he might first take the Habit; and for that end it is said he went to *Fleury* in *France*, (b) and that having there received the Habit he returned to *England*, and took possession of his Archbishoprick (c).

This Story has such a taste of that Vanity and Partiality with which the Monasticks usually speak of their own Institutions, that one has much ado to give it any other Authority, than such as their Legends usually deserve; yet it is certain, that when *Anselm's* stiff and untractable Spirit had engaged King *Henry* the First, the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, in a resolution never more to suffer that great Trust to fall into the hands of a Monastick, the Monks of *Canterbury*, with great assurance, pretended that the See of *Canterbury* had never been governed by any other than Men who had taken the Habit.

SECT.

SECT. III. And it is with great warmth that this Opinion has been contended for by all the later Monastick Writers; and yet one who looks to the state of *England* when *Odo* came to the Chair, and the state of the Monasticks in this and the preceding Age, and the contemptible Opinion of those Institutions, which had for more than an Age prevailed, not only in *England*, but in the neighbouring Nations, will find it very difficult to believe otherwise of this Matter, than as a Tale of a later make, especially if by Monks be meant Men under Vows, or tied to the Observances or Rules of any Religious Order; for it is certain, that these were things hitherto little known, and less observed in *England*, even in that Age when *Bede* makes such heavy complaint of the number of Religious Houses. (a)

Anno
941.

(a) *Bed. Epist.*
ad Egbert.
pag. 259.

(b) *Cressley's*
Ch. Hist.
An. 935.

Nor is there any weight in the Argument of Mr. *Cressley* (b), who saith, that Pope *Alexander*, in an Epistle to Archbishop *Lanfranc*, tells him, that he had found a Constitution of *Gregory the Great*, requiring *Austin* to place in the See of *Canterbury* Men of the same Order himself was of; and upon this ground that Writer rudely treats Archbishop *Parker*, because the Author of the *Antiquitates Britanicae* affirms *Laurentius* the Successor of *Austin* to be a Secular Priest; and yet one who looks into the Model *Gregory* sent to *Austin*, for the Settlement of the *English Church*, and observes how little regard was paid to it in the future Establishment, will see, that Mr. *Cressley* had no great reason to lay any stress upon this Argument, if he had been certain of the truth of it; but one who looks into the Model of *Gregory*, as it stands in the Works of that Prelate, and in those of *Bede*, will plainly see, that *Gregory* expressly required, that after the Death of *Austin* the See of *Canterbury* should be removed to *London*, and one Constitution, requiring, that there should be no more Archbishops of *Canterbury* after *Austin*; and another Constitution, that all the succeeding Archbishops thereof should be Monks, agree so ill together, that one who allows the truth of what is said, of removing the Seat of the Metropolitan from *Canterbury* to *London*, can hardly forbear concluding, the Constitution Mr. *Cressley* lays such stress upon to be an Imposture, especially when it appears, that in the 'foresaid Model

Model there is not one syllable of trusting the Archbishoprick only in the hands of Monasticks.

And in truth the same Author, to whom the World is obliged for so material a discovery in favour of the Monks, in the Life of *Dunstan*, spoils the Story he thinks fit to relate in the Life of *Odo*; for whereas he saith in the one, that none but Monks have possessed the Chair of *Canterbury*, in the Life of *Dunstan* he thinks fit to say, that *Dunstan* was the restorer of Monkery, and that the Name of Monks had not been known in *England* for many Years before; and whereas he is singular in the former Opinion, he has all our Historians on the side of the latter; and one would think a general failure of the Monasticks in *England* a good reason to conclude, that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* were not always Monks.

Anno 943. But whether the forefaid Story be true or false, is not very material, especially when the Marks of *Odo's* wise conduct leave us something more considerable to recommend him to Posterity; for those Canons which pass under the Title of the Constitutions of *Odo*, do not seem to be the Work of a Provincial Council, but rather appear to be the Advice or Charges of that Prelate, delivered to his Clergy and People in the Visitations of his Province, by his Metropolitcal Power, and published about this time for the Instructions of others, and contain many material Notices and Directions, and these freer from the Marks of Superstition, than could well be expected from the Age he lived in, and for the most part such as might well become the greatest Men in the best Ages of the Church; and because these give us some light into the Discipline, Government, and present State of the *English* Church, they will deserve a more particular Reflection.

Anno 943. S E C T. IV. The Constitutions of *Odo* are in all Ten, the first whereof asserts the Privileges of Churches, and that Taxes ought not to be laid on the Revenues thereof.

2. The second admonishes the King and Princes to obey the Archbishop and Bishops, to oppress no Man, to administer Justice and take care of the Poor.

3. The

3. The third directs the Bishops to be exemplary in their Lives, diligent in visiting their Dioceses once every Year, to preach the truth boldly, to use all precaution in inflicting the Censures of the Church, and to exert the utmost of their Zeal and Care in the Salvation of Souls.

The fourth and fifth direct the conduct of the Lower Clergy, and require that their Lives be exemplary, their Habit and Demeanor decent, and that by their Lives and Doctrine they should study to win Souls to *Christ*.

6. The sixth requires the Monasticks to perform their Vows, not to wander from place to place, and to be diligent in attending the Offices of Religion.

7. The seventh forbids Incestuous Marriages, and the pollution of Nuns.

8. The eighth is a general exhortation to Peace and Unity, grounded on the Unity of the same Faith, and the Union of Christians with *CHRIST* the Head, that the Church may be one as *CHRIST* is one.

9. The ninth enjoins a due observance of the Fasts and Festivals of the Church, especially the *Lent* and *Ember* Fasts, the Lord's-Day, Feasts of the Saints, and gives a particular caution against Superstition and Worshipping of the Creature instead of *GOD*, and enforces this with the threats of Damnation to those who are guilty of it.

10. The tenth directs the payment of Tythes, and enforces that Duty from the Authority of the Prophets, and the Threats and Promises of *GOD* to the *Jewish* Church.

These Advices have so much of the Spirit of the best Antiquity, that if Judgment were to be made on the present state of the *English* Church, by the Constitutions of this Prelate, one must necessarily conclude, that the Corruptions in Doctrine and Worship, which in time became the reproach of the Western Church, had at this time made but a little progress in *England*; there would have needed none of this Zeal to recommend the preaching God's Word, if Ignorance had been thought so useful to the purpose of Devotion, as some Men have made it; nor would he have stated the Unity of the Church, as consisting in an agreement in the same Faith, Hope, and Charity, and submission to *CHRIST* as the Head,

without saying a word of uniting in the external Communion of the Church of *Rome*, if he had been acquainted with some modern Notions of Communion and Schism; nor have cautioned so much against Superstition, or threatened Damnation to those who worship the Creature, if the corrupt Practices of the Worship of Saints, Reliques, or Images, since allowed in some Western Churches had been at this time received in *England*.

Anno
944.

SECT. V. Nor did the short Reign of King *Edmund*, or the Wars he was engaged in the greatest part of his time, prevent or take off his Cares from the Church, but following the Steps of his Ancestors, he called a Council to meet at *London* this Year, consisting of his two Archbishops, *Odo* and *Wulstan*, and others his Bishops and Nobility, where several Laws, as well for the Regulation and good Order of the State, as the Church, were agreed upon: Those relating to the Affairs of the Church and Religion, were in all but six, of which there are several different Copies and Translations, but what is material in them is as follows (a).

(a) Chron.
Brompton
X. Scriptor.
Col. 858.
Concil. Brit.
Tom. I. p. 419.

1. The first requires that the Clergy and Religious shall render themselves Examples of Holiness and Chastity.

2. The second commands the payment of Tythes and Duties to the Church, and Alms.

3. The third requires, that such Persons as have been guilty of Murder should give satisfaction to the Bishop of the Diocese for the Offence given to the Church, before they presume to come into the Presence of the King.

4. The fourth pronounces the Person who defiles a Nun unworthy of Christian Burial.

5. The fifth requires the Bishops to Repair the Churches in their own Demesns and Lands, and inform the King of such others as want Repairs.

6. The sixth requires, that those who forswear themselves, or offer Sacrifice to false Gods, be put out of the Communion of the Church. Besides which, there is another Law of this Prince, directing the manner of Espousals and Solemnities of Marriage.

Whilst

Whilst the united Councils of this Prince, his Clergy and Nobility, thus conducted the Interest of GOD and his Church, as well as of those of the State, and every thing seemed to conspire to the welfare of both, an unusual accident put an end to the Life of the King; for that Prince attempting to seize a Malefactor, who had audaciously thrust into his Court, was unhappily killed in the attempt; he left behind him two Sons, *Edwi* and *Edgar*, both very young; and whether it was the consideration of their unfitness to support the burthen of the Crown, under an unsettled Government; or whether it was occasioned by the Ambition and aspiring Temper of his Successor, the Succession was interrupted, and *Edred*, Brother to *Edmund*, succeeded to the Crown.

Anno
946.

King Edmund
dies.

SECT. VI. But whatever the Reasons of this Proceeding were, it is certain, the state of the Nation required a bold and active Prince, and the Character of this Prince answered the expectance of the Nation, the Affairs whereof quickly called him to his Guard, and the unquiet Spirit of that mixt People, who inhabited the North of *England*, soon put him under a necessity of marching thither with an Army; and in the quieting of that People, and the Victories he obtained over the *Scots*, and the submission and acknowledgment he forc'd them to, he has gain'd the Reputation of a Wise and Heroick Prince; and though he was not wanting in a tenderness and just regard to his Clergy, yet these Princely Vertues never stood in the way of the Publick Safety; and therefore, notwithstanding the Reverence he bore to his Character, yet having great reason to be assured, that *Wulstan*, Archbishop of *York*, encourag'd the Rebellions and Disorders in the North, he seiz'd him, and made him a Prisoner, (a) and continued his Confinement for a Year.

King Edred.
Anno 946.

(a) T. Stubbs
de Pontif.
Ebor. X. Script.
Col. 1699.

And yet he followed the Steps of his Brother, in giving great encouragement to the Monasticks, and as at the Instance of *Turketal* his Chancellor, he granted several Privileges to the Monastery of *Crowland*, and made him the first Abbot thereof, so he favoured the Zeal of *Dunstan*, who, by his Brother, had been made the first Abbot of *Glassenbury*, and made him his Confessor, and was directed by him in all his Affairs, and possibly his Favours to that Prelate might give the first thought to the

the bold effort of *Dunstan*, against the Secular Clergy, but that will be considered in its proper place.

Anno
955.

(a) Cressley's
Ch. Hist.
An. 955.
pag. 849.

SECT. VII. In the mean time the remainders of this Prince's Life wore out so fast, that we hear little more of the Affairs of the Church, till the surprising and extraordinary Will of this Prince, wherein, as Mr. *Cressley* (a) saith from the Annals of *Winchester*, this Prince bequeathed to the Church where he should be buried, two golden Crosses, with as many Images of Gold, and four hundred Pounds in Silver, to the old Monastery at *Winchester* three Mannors, as many to the new; and the like to the Monastery of Religious Virgins there, &c. to the Poor one thousand six hundred Pounds, to the Archbishop and Church of *Canterbury*, four hundred Pounds, to the Bishop of *Winchester* and his See the like; to *Dunstan*, Abbot of *Glassenbury*, and his Monastery, two hundred Pounds; to the Poor of *Winchester* two hundred Pounds; to *Oskitel*, Bishop of *Dorchester*, and his Monks, four hundred Pounds; to Bishop *Wulfbelm*, four hundred Pounds; to the Archbishop, two hundred Marks of Gold, and one thousand two hundred Pounds of Silver; to all his Bishops an hundred Marks of Gold; to all the Priests appointed to celebrate Mass, and pray for him, fifty Marks of Gold, and five thousand Shillings; as many likewise to all other Priests; likewise to all other Priests pertaining to other Men, who should be ordained to say Mass, and pray for him, thirty Marks of Gold, &c.

One would not think, that such a Will could ever have been made, before the discovery of the *Indies*, and yet the 'foresaid Writer seems to give credit to it, and places it amongst the Proofs of the Piety of King *Edred*. What truth there is in this Matter, I shall leave other to judge, and return to what is certain, the Death of King *Edred*, who died the twenty third of *November*, in the Year 955.

King *Edred*
dies.

King *Edwi*
November
Anno 955.

This change in the State produced another in the Church; for *Edwi*, eldest Son to *Edmund*, and Nephew to *Edred*, succeeding his Uncle, *Dunstan* had the common Fate that attends the Ministers of Princes, whose Interests and Affections commonly lie so cross to each other, that the same Reasons that fix the Interests of Ministers in one Reign, usually breaks them in

in another; this was the case of *Dunstan*, for he soon fell into disgrace, and was banished the Court (a): But to make him recompence, at least to set him right in the Opinion of succeeding Ages, the Monastick Writers have furnished the World with such a reason for the disgrace of *Dunstan*, as must make him an ample recompence in the Opinion of all good Men, if one could be well assured there is any truth in it.

(a) Osborni
Vit. Dunst.
Ang. Sac.
Part 2. p. 100.

For they tell us that *Edwi*, though but a Youth, so intirely abandoned himself to the Charms of a beautiful Young Woman, that on the Day of his Coronation, Dinner was no sooner over, and the King with the Nobility and Bishops, retired to consider of the Affairs of the Nation, but *Edwi* presently withdrew to solace himself after the Fatigues of the Day, in the Conversation of his Mistress; but the Nobility penetrating the reason of this his Retirement, prevail'd upon *Dunstan* and *Cynesius*, a Bishop who was related to that Prince, to enter his Bed-Chamber, where it is said they found the King on the Bed, betwixt *Athelgiva* his Mistress, and her Mother, and that *Dunstan* taking him by the Arms forced him to put his Crown upon his Head, and to return to the Council-Chamber, where the Bishops and Nobility were assembled (b).

(b) Osborni
Vit. Dunst.
Ang. Sac.
Par. 2. p. 104,
105.

SECT. VIII. This Relation has so much the Air and Spirit which every where appears in the Legend of *St. Dunstan*, that one has much ado to think it is not all of a piece; but if credit could be given to what is said before of the Will of *Edred*, one could not be to seek for another reason of *Dunstan's* Disgrace; for dividing the Wealth of the Kingdom amongst the Clergy, Monasteries, Poor, and Officers of the Court, and leaving the Crown under the greatest Necessities, are such Instances of Male-Administration, as are enough to break the Interests of the most able, and otherwise faithful Minister, and can never be overlooked by those who hope to supplant them, nor forgiven by a succeeding Prince, who is condemned to struggle under the Mischiefs of such Councils.

And yet if there be truth in what is said of those mighty Summs, given away by King *Edred*, this must be the case of King *Edwi*, and he could not but know from whence a Council so prejudicial to the Affairs of

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his Kingdom had its beginning, *Dunstan* being both Confessor and chief Minister under that Prince. And that which still gives more probability to this conjecture, that this was the true reason of *Dunstan's* present Banishment is, that the displeasure of the King did not determine in banishing *Dunstan* out of *England*, and rifling of his Monastery of *Glassenbury*, but extended it self, if the Writers of his Life say true, to all the Monasteries of *England*.

But though interrupting the Pleasures of a young Prince, or the Revenge of a Woman thoroughly provok'd, are sources of Mischief that know no bounds; yet one who considers, that King *Edwi* had for some time been kept from the Crown by his Uncle King *Edred*, under whom *Dunstan* made so great a Figure, and compares this with what will be said of the future Conduct of that Prelate, will see reason to believe, that there was something more in this Affair than can be accounted for by that unlikely Story of that Prince's forbidden Pleasures, and the Revenge of his Mistress.

Anno
956.

SECT. IX. But whatever was the cause of *Dunstan's* Banishment, and the ill Treatments of the Religious, the effects of that Faction in the Court, which forced *Dunstan* into Banishment, were such as give a new ground to suspect we are not fully informed of the true original; for in a little while *Dunstan's* Faction in the Court spread it self through the Kingdom; and so powerful an Interest was made for dethroning of King *Edwi*, that all the Midland and Northern Parts of *England* ran into a Rebellion, and set up *Edgar*, the younger Brother of *Edwi*, for their King; and after several Battels forced *Edwi* to fly to *Glocester* for his own security, and to content himself with that part of *England* which lies South of the River *Thames* for his Dominions, whilst the much greater part lying North of that River, fell into the hands of his Brother.

Dunstan and the Monasticks generally engaged in the Interest of King *Edgar*, the married Clergy on the side of *Edwi*, and both were treated accordingly upon the division of the Kingdom; the married had the countenance of *Edwi*, their rightful Prince, within his Dominions, and this added to the Banishment of *Dunstan* seems to have given occasion to the heavy complaints of the

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Writers of *Dunstan's* Life, of the Hardships the Monasticks suffered under the Reign of *Edwi*, and in particular to what is said by that Writer of the Monastery of *Glassenbury*; for this Monastery falling within the division of *Edwi*, *Dunstan* who had been made Abbot thereof, in the Reign of *Edred*, and now openly adhered to *Edgar*, and thereby became an Enemy to *Edwi*, was not only dispossessed, together with his Monks, but the House was given by King *Edwi* to his Friends.

And it is most likely it was this which has blacken'd the Character of that Prince, amongst all the Writers on that side; and probably the same reason gave beginning to that lewd Story which at once magnifies the Zeal of *Dunstan*, and represents his Enemy as the vilest and most senseless Miscreant in the World; at least thus much is certain, that *H. Huntingdon* saith of King *Edwi*, that he did not Reign unworthily (a). But whatever countenance the married Clergy met with in the Dominions of *Edwi*, the Monasticks had no less favour under his Brother *Edgar*, amongst whom *Dunstan* was more particularly distinguished, and had so many Marks of Favour conferred upon him, as would perswade one to think he had too great a share in that Revolution which had brought *Edgar* to the Crown, in the Wrong of his Elder Brother.

(a) H. Huntingdon. Hist. Lib 5. fol. 204.

SECT. X. But whatever the Reasons were from whence *Edgar's* Favours to *Dunstan* did arise, it seems probable, that he was the first Person that was preferred by him, and in all probability before the Agreement about the division of *England*; and whilst his Party lay under the reproach of Rebellion; at least it appears, that about this time *Edgar* preferred *Dunstan* to the Bishoprick of *Worcester*.

Anno 957.

Whilst the Nation continued in this distracted State, *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* died, and that See lying within the Division of *Edwi*, he conferred that Trust upon *Elsin*, Bishop of *Winchester*; but *Elsin* going to *Rome* died by the way, and, as it is said, was starved in his Passage over the *Alps*. Upon the first notice of his Death, *Brithelm* Bishop of *Wells*, was translated to *Canterbury*: Both these Prelates were great Enemies to the Monks, and Encouragers of the Secular Clergy; and therefore the Monks, who have the telling of their Story,

Anno 958.

Story, represent *Elfin* as a Man who by Money, and by base and unworthy Practises, raised himself to the See of *Canterbury*; and that he died under the greatest Agonies of Horror and Despair. *Brithelm* they describe as a Man illiterate, unacquainted with Business, and altogether unfit for a Trust of that Importance; and whilst they thus blacken these Prelates, to brighten their great Champion *Dunstan*, they tell us, that the Archbishoprick was offered to him at both these Vacancies, and that in great Modesty he refused it both times; and it may be they are equally in the right in all these particulars.

For at the time of both these Avoidances *Edwi* was alive, and *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, and *Wells* lying within his Division, it is easie to see the reason of the 'foresaid Nominations; but it is very difficult to imagine, that *Edwi* offered the See of *Canterbury* to one he mortally hated, and to an open and professed Enemy as *Dunstan* then was; and if there was any need for it, its probable the Character of the two 'foresaid Prelates might easily be cleared; but whether the Modesty and Humility of *Dunstan* can so easily be set right, the following circumstances of his Story give great reason to suspect.

Anno

959.

King *Edwi*
dies.

Edgar Reigns
alone.

By the time that the translation of Archbishop *Brithelm* was compleated, *Edwi*, King of that part of *England*, lying South of *Thames*, died the first of *November* 959; and this his Death opened a way to the reuniting of the Monarchy, in the Person of *Edgar* his younger Brother, and bringing *Dunstan* to the Chair, which the desires of his Party, and his own Ambition had before designed him to. *Dunstan* was at this time Bishop of *Worcester*, and besides had the Administration of the Bishoprick of *London* committed to his care by King *Edgar*; and that he might not want opportunities to give proof of the great Modesty, Humility, and tenderness of Conscience the Writers of his Story make him Master of, *Brithelm*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was, by his Interest, forced to leave his Chair, and with the Character of a Man unfit for business, was sent back to his Bishoprick of *Wells*, and *Dunstan* was made Archbishop in his room: The violence offered to *Brithelm* had doubtless made a mighty noise in our Story, if the merit of such a Successor had not been thought reason enough to

Anno

960.

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consecrate every thing that was requisite to remove the difficulties which stood in his way.

S E C T. XI. *Dunstan* being made Archbishop of *Canterbury* went away to *Rome*, and receiving his Pall returned from thence the Year following : And now his Thoughts are wholly imployed in bringing about the Design he had formed before, to force the Canons and Secular Clergy, who were generally married, to forsake their Wives, and accept the Habit of Religion, or else quit their Stations in Cathedral Churches, Monasteries, and Colleges. The King had been first raised to the Crown by the Monastick Interest, and therefore was easily brought into the Measures of *Dunstan*, and by a quiet and general submission of the Nation to his Government, and a Peace with his Neighbours abroad, he was at leisure to apply himself to serve the Purposes of that rash and bigotted Prelate at home. *Dunstan* could not but foresee the Difficulties which stood in his way, especially from the known Sentiments of the Body of the Bishops and Clergy, who were generally very averse to his Undertaking; and therefore his first care was to strengthen his Interest, by filling the vacant Bishopricks with Men to his Mind; and the Bishoprick of *Worcester* being made void by his Translation to *Canterbury*, at his desire (a) the King conferred it on *Oswald*, an *Englishman* by Birth, but one that had been bred a Monk at *Fleury* in *France*; and in this See first, and afterward in that of *Tork*, this Prelate proved a vigorous Patron of the Monks, and a violent Persecutor of the Secular Clergy.

(a) Edmeri
Vit. Oswald.
Ang. Sacra.
Part 2. p. 198.

About two Years after, the Bishoprick of *Winchester* becoming void, it was also, by the Intercession of *Dunstan*, conferred upon *Ethelwald*, one who had taken the Habit from the Hands of *Dunstan*, whilst he was Abbot of *Glasfenbury* (b). He afterward rebuilt the Monastery of *Abingdon*, and was made Abbot thereof, and approved himself such as *Dunstan* expected, a hot and fierce assserter of the Cause of the Monasticks: Besides this, to give still more Life to his Designs, *Dunstan* set about the building of several Monasteries. Things being brought to this pass, the design which hitherto had been kept as a Secret, now began every where to be made publick.

(b) Rudborn.
Hist. Winton.
Angl. Sacra.
Par. 1. p. 217.

But because this design gave a great deal of Trouble and Disquiet to the present Age, and the Controversy it occasioned lasted at least two Ages; and when it was determined in practice, by force on one side, it took its place, and remains still amongst the Controversies in the Church, and yet this Controversy is very often mistaken, for want of a just knowledge of the ancient and present state of the *English* Monasteries; therefore to set this Matter in its true Light, it will be requisite to look a little backward, and observe what those Monasteries were which *Dunstan* contended so earnestly, to put into the hands of the Monks, and what the present state of the Seculars and Monasticks was.

SECT. XII. In the first Settlement of Christianity amongst the *English*, great care was taken to preserve a Succession of Men fit to attend on the Offices of Religion; and therefore where ever an Episcopal See was planted, a number of Clergy were usually settled in a sort of Collegiate Society, partly to attend the Offices of Religion in the Mother-Church, and from thence to be sent to preach to the adjacent places, as occasion required; and partly to oversee and train up a Succession of Men, fit to succeed in the Offices of their Holy Function; and tho' they were under no Vows of Obedience or Celibacy, yet these Societies, which seem to be much the same with those in our Cathedrals at this Day, pass in the History and Canons of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Centuries, by the general Name of Monasteries: And these Societies seem to be chiefly meant by the greater Monasteries so often mentioned in the Controversy begun by *Dunstan*.

Besides these there was another sort of Monasteries, erected by the Charities of private Men, to which great numbers of Persons retired for Study and Devotion, some consisting all of Men, others of mixt Assemblies of Men and Women, some whereof, by voluntary Vows, tied themselves to a state of Celibacy: In this Rank the Monasteries of *Wiremuth* and *Farrow* deserve a place, and some other of those Monasteries which by a solemn Dedication from the Bishops were dedicated to those purposes; for by that Mark the Council of *Cloveshoe* distinguishes these Societies from a third sort, which that Council calls by the Name of Secular Monasteries;

ries (a); These were so numerous, that *Bede* does again and again complain of their numbers, as of ill consequence to the State, (b) and advises that they may be turn'd into the Sees of new Bishopricks, and the Revenues employ'd for encouraging Men to preach the Gospel. Of these Bodies many were married Persons: And so usual was it for these Bodies to be governed by married Persons, that *Bede* saith, scarce a Governour of a Province but begg'd one of these Monasteries for himself, and another for his Wife (c).

(a) Concil. Brit. Vol. 1. pag. 247.

(b) Bed. Epist. ad Egbert. pag. 260.

(c) Ibid.

And that which encreased the number of this sort of Monasteries was, that many of the Nobility affecting this way of living, did, with the leave of their Kings, turn their own Houses into such sort of Societies, receiving Men and Women into their Families; and whilst they lived in Society of their Wives, as other married Persons did, they also supported the Title of Præfects or Governours of Monasteries (d). This kind of Monasteries were not dedicated to GOD any otherwise, than by a voluntary setting apart thereof to such Purposes as these aforementioned.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Ibid.

(f) Ibid.

SECT. XIII. Thus stood the state of Monasteries in the beginning and middle of the Eighth Century; and thus it continued till the Inundations of the Danes had so generally destroyed these Foundations, and indeed the very Monastick Spirit, that in the North of *England*, where those Foundations had been most numerous, and flourished most, they were so generally destroyed about the middle of the Ninth Century, that *Dunelmensis* (e) observes, that from that time till the Year 1074, there was not a Monastery in the North of *England*; that the People had not heard of the Name of a Monk, and were frighted at the very Habit; and if this was not altogether the case of other Parts, yet in the beginning of the Tenth Century, the Writer of *Dunstan's* Life saith, (f) That the Vows of Poverty and Obedience were not yet in use in *England*, that the Name of Abbot was scarce known, and a Convent of Monks was a thing which had hardly been seen in *England*.

(e) Dunelm. An. 1074. X. Scriptor. Col. 206.

(f) Osbern. Vit. Dunst. Ang. Sacra. Part 2. pag. 91.

Nondum enim in Anglia communis ratio vite colebatur non usus deferendi proprias voluntates hominibus affectabatur, Abbatis nomen vix quispiam audierat, conventus Monachorum non satis quispiam viderat.

And

(a) *Anglia Sac.*
Part 2. p. 91.

And it is very well observed by Mr. *Wharton*, (a) that the Writer of *Æthelwald's* Life, *Gervasius*, *John* of *Tinmouth*, the Manuscript Chronicle of *Winchester*, and *Capgrave* in the golden Legend, do all agree with the Writer of *Dunstan's* Life, in what he says of the present state of the *English* Monasteries; and in particular it appears, that *Glassenbury* had not at that time so much as a Monk in it; but, on the contrary, it being a convenient Retirement, some Persons came from *Ireland* and inhabited there, and taught School, and that, amongst many others, *Dunstan* was educated there (b).

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

As for what remained of the Foundations and Revenues of the ancient Monasteries, it was so intirely possessed by the Secular Clergy, that it is upon good grounds affirmed by a very Learned and Judicious Antiquary (c), that the Monasteries of *England*, before the Reformation made by *Dunstan* and *Edgar*, were so many Convents of Secular Clergy, who attended the daily Service of GOD in their Churches, and had their local Statutes by which they were governed, but possessed the same liberty of marrying if they pleased, as the Members of Collegiate Churches now enjoy.

(d) *Afferius*
de Gest. Alfred.
Col. Camd.
pag. 18.

Thus much is certain, that when King *Alfred* had built his Monastery of *Athelney*, he was forced to send to *France* to find Men to put into it (d); and that notwithstanding all his care that way, they had not Monks enough to perform the Services of the Monastery, but were forced to take in Secular Clergy to their assistance; and, in particular, this was the case of *Winchester*, tho' under the care of *Grimbald*, (e) a Person of great Reputation for his Learning and Piety. And this was afterwards the case of *Crowland* under *Turketel* (f).

(e) *Rudborn.*
Hist. Winton.
Ang. Sac.
Part 1. p. 212.
(f) *Ingulphi*
Hist. Col.
Gale. Vol. 1.
pag. 41.

But *Alfred* having begun the design of erecting Monasteries in the latter end of the Ninth Century, in the beginning of the Tenth Century, *Dunstan* rebuilt the Monastery of *Glassenbury*; *Turketel*, Chancellor to King *Edred*, that of *Crowland*; and not not long after *Æthelwald*, afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, that of *Abingdon*; but before these Foundations were settled, the War betwixt *Edwi* and his Brother *Edgar* not only prevented the Settlement of the forefaid Monasteries, and hindered the building of more, but did a great deal towards ruining those which had been built in two preceding Reigns; so

so that when this Controversy betwixt the Seculars and Monks begun, the Monasteries then in being were no other than those already mentioned under the Name of Secular Monasteries; but the Monasticks having been steady in the Interest of King *Edgar*, had not only the conduct of his Councils, but all the encouragement the Government could give them: And this gave opportunity to the favourers of that Interest to finish the fore-said Monasteries, and to build some other.

But notwithstanding all these Advantages, the body of the Nation still retain'd the former Sentiments, and seem'd no way to relish these Proceedings; and therefore this Work went on so heavily, notwithstanding all the Vigour and Zeal *Dunstan* and the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Worcester* lent to this Cause, that when the over-hasty bishop of *Winchester* thrust out his Secular Canons from his Cathedral, except from the Monasteries of *Glassenbury* and *Abingdon*, there were not Monks to be had in *England*, (a) sufficient to instruct those who came into the room of the deprived Canons.

SECT. XIV. But those who make their Judgment of the Monasteries, we are presently to see *Dunstan* and his Party struggling to obtain by the later Institutions, are apt to run away with an Opinion, that the Foundations called Monasteries in this and the two preceding Ages, were of the same kind; and finding these in the possession of Secular Canons, are apt to be mislead into an Opinion, that the Canons were the Usurpers, and the Monks wrongfully dispossessed; but by this Account of this Matter it appears, that the far greatest part of these Foundations were by the Founders themselves originally designed for those who from the time of this Controversy were known by the Name of Seculars; and that for about an Age preceding they had been universally possess'd by Persons of this denomination. And Mr. *Cressley*, who is no Friend to that Order of Men, owns that the Plea of the Ecclesiasticks was not altogether groundless, because many Mannors and Gifts had, during the last Age, been bestowed on Churches and Places, as possess'd by them, and not by Monks (b).

Having said this in order to shew the sense of the Church of *England* in that Controversy about the Marriage of the Clergy, which appears in the general practise

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of

(a) *Histor. Cœnob. Ab. bend. Ang. Sac. Part I. pag. 166.*

Anno

963.

(b) *Cressley's Ch. Hist. An. 962.*

of the Clergy, and to set the first steps to that Controversy in a true light, I shall need to add no more, but that the Secular Canons, who were generally married, were in possession of a considerable Wealth, and then return to observe the Methods which *Dunstan* made use of to dispossess them.

Anno
964.

(a) *Cressley's*
Ch. Hist.
Ann. 962.
pag. 862.
(b) *Annal.*
Winton.
Ang. Sac.
Part 1. p. 290.

SECT. XV. *Edgar* was a lewd and vicious Prince, and stained the beginning of his Reign with so many Instances of Lust and Violence, that *Mr. Cressley*, who falls very foul on some other Writers for the ill Character they give of *Edgar*, gives so many Instances of his lustful, fierce, and impetuous Temper, as seem to justify the Men he blames, and go a great way in spoiling the Character he seems desirous the World should receive of him; and therefore to stand safe from the Indignation of Writers of the same Temper, I shall say no more of that Prince, than that Learned Writer has done before me, that he pursued his Lust into the very Monasteries, and notwithstanding the Veil and the Vow of the Holy Virgin *Wulfritha*, forced her to his Bed (a): And the same Year slew, (b) or at least caused to be slain, *Æthelwulf* his Secretary, that by his Death he might make his way to the Embraces of his Wife, the beautiful *Elfreda*, who being thus become a Widow, *Edgar* took to his Wife; and the Writers who give him the highest *Encomia's* do not only agree in these Relations, but add, that *Dunstan* enjoined him a Penance of seven Years, which shews, either that his Vices were very notorious, or else that he was ill-treated by his Confessor.

If we add to these Reflections on the Character of *Edgar*, the Hardships which so lately fell upon his Brother King *Edwi*, by the Interest of *Dunstan's* Party, and take liberty to remember, that the same Interest which stripped his Brother of the better half of his Kingdom, and brought *Edgar* to the Throne, and in the conduct of that Affair let that Prince see, they could both unmake, as well as set up Kings, the Zeal of that Prince to oblige the Party of *Dunstan* may possibly be accounted for with more probability, than when it is resolved into the Piety of the Man; accordingly, amongst the Penances which the Writer of *Dunstan's* Life saith that Prelate imposed upon *Edgar*, he was enjoined to build a Monastery for Nuns at *Shaftsbury*, and to expel out of Churches

Churches such Clergy-men as lived scandalously, and introduce Monks in their stead (a).

(a) Osborni
Vit. Dunst.
Ang. Sacr.
Part 2. p. 111

It is not unlikely but that the Clergy had a part in the Ignorance and Vices of the Age; but yet if we interpret their scandalous living by the Sentiments of *Dunstan*, and the Spirit of those Men who place such Perfections in Celibacy, it is evident, that it was not their ill Morals, but their being married that is the scandalous living which is here laid to their charge: But from whatever reason the Zeal of King *Edgar* against the Secular Clergy had its beginning, *Dunstan*, and *Æthelmulf* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Oswald* Bishop of *Worcester*, the great Enemies thereof, had the highest Marks of his Favour, and were the great Ministers of State, and so well assured of his Protection and Assistance, that without any farther delay, *Æthelmulf*, Bishop of *Winchester*, this Year, turn'd out of the Church of *Winchester*, all the Canons who refused to turn Monks (b): And not content with this Instance of his Zeal, he not only began the building of several Monasteries within his Diocese, but he obtained a Grant of *Edgar* of all the Sites of those Religious Houses which had been destroy'd by the *Danes*; and by vertue of this Grant he restor'd the Monasteries of *Ely* and *Peterborough* (c).

(b) Chron.
Saxon.
An. 963.

(c) Ibid.

SECT. XVI. *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester*, moved slower, but whether that was owing to the Temper of the Man, or to the Resolutions of the Canons of his Church is hard to determine. It is certain, he found them on the same bottom on which they had at first been founded: They had been Seculars from the beginning, (d) and therefore having Law and Right on their sides, probably did not easily part with their Right. However, *Eadmer*, Writer of that Prelate's Life, saith, that after many fruitless Admonitions to the Canons to take the Habit, *Oswald* seeing they continued obstinate, forced them to quit their Relation to the Cathedral Church; and not content to bound his Zeal there, he carried it into his Diocese, and dispossessed the Canons of the Monastery of *Pershore*, and six other Monasteries within his Diocese; but it seems probable, that the Canons of *Worcester* gave him so many Obstructions, and paid so little regard to the Sentences he had passed upon them, that he could not force them from their Houses, and the

Anno
969.

(d) Successio
priorum Eccl.
Wigorn. Ang.
Sacr. Part 1.
pag. 546.

(e) Chron.
W.
Ang.
1158.

the Cathedral, till he had built a new Cathedral, and an House for the reception of the Monks.

(a) Ibid.

And that though he began it sooner he was not able to perfect his Design till about the Year 971, when he settled his Monks under the Government of a new Prior (a); and about that time he obtained that Grant for the endowment of his new Monastery, the Lands wherein contained being exempted from the Secular Authority, and subjected intirely to the Government of *Oswald*, has probably given occasion to applying the Title and Name of *Oswald's Law* (which properly related to the 'foresaid Privileges granted to the said Prelate) to the Edict or Law of *Edgar*, by which the Seculars were expelled the Church of *Worcester*, but probably without any other reason than this, that in the same Charter in which *Edgar* granted those Lands, he also confirm'd the change which *Oswald* had made in thrusting out the Canons, and bringing in Monks in their stead.

What was done by other Bishops, in the prosecution of this design, does not appear; but by the silence of the Monkish Writers, who never omitted to celebrate Performances of this kind; by the omission of their Names in all the Acts of *Edgar*, wherein the Names of Archbishop *Dunstan*, and the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Worcester* are always mentioned; and by the mighty Interest the Seculars afterwards made, there is great reason to conclude, that except the 'foresaid Prelates the Bishops did not come into the Interest of *Dunstan*; and if they did not dare openly to oppose it, did at least secretly dislike it, and encourage the other side; and it is probable it was their dislike, and Favours to the Seculars, which clogged the Work of *Dunstan*, and made it move so slowly.

For the Writers of his Life do not so much as tell us, that he drove the Seculars out of *Canterbury*; but, on the contrary, it seems highly probable, that although Archbishop *Dunstan* set forward the rash and precipitate Zeal of the Bishops of *Worcester* and *Winchester*, that he did not dare to follow their Examples in his own Cathedral; for it appears by an Epistle of *John* the Thirteenth, inserted in the History of *W. Thorn* (b), that the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury* was possessed by Secular Canons in the Year 957; and the same Writer saith, they

(b) Chron.
W. Thorn.
X Scriptor.
Col. 1778.

they were dispossessed, and Monks introduced in the Year 1005 (a): Nor did that Controversy end there; (a) Ibid. for the Secular Canons were so far from acquiescing in their expulsion, that it is very evident they esteemed it unjust, and the effect of violence, and were so favour'd in their pretence by the Civil Power, that about sixty Years after the 'foresaid Expulsion, we find them attempting to regain their Right, and drive out the Monks; and so powerful an effort was made for their Restoration, that Archbishop *Lanfrank* was forced to send to *Rome*, and call in the Power of Pope *Alexander* to the Aid of the Monks (b).

(b) Lanfranci
Epist. Lib.
Epist. 4. pag.
302.

SECT. XVII. However, that Party had such an ascendant over King *Edgar*, that his Treasure and Power seem to have been intirely at their disposal; and they were so profuse in the use they made of his Wealth, that no less than seven and forty Monasteries were built and endowed by him, and he intended to have made them up fifty; so that it is not unlikely, that his lavishing the Wealth of the Crown, in repairing, building, and endowing of Monasteries, did, by impoverishing the Kingdom, help on those Miseries, which not long after his Death the Nation suffered from the *Danes*. However, without looking forward, that Party made so good use of the Favours of that Prince, that they obtained leave from him, to put out the Canons of all the greater Monasteries and Cathedral Churches throughout *England*, and to place Monks in their stead (c).

(c) M. Westm.
An. 969.

And when their own Power proved insufficient, they obtained a Commission, directed to Archbishop *Dunstan*, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Worcester*, (d) to make use of the King's Power to bring about their Design. And at the delivery of this Commission to them, in a Speech celebrated by all the Monkish Writers, *Edgar* speaks so reproachfully of the Secular Clergy, and in terms so unbecoming the usual gentleness and good Manners of a Prince, as would almost tempt one to think the Speech was *Dunstan's*, rather than his own; but whoever was the Author of it, 'tis exceedingly magnified by some of our Writers, and so is the whole conduct and address of King *Edgar*; but they who are unanimous in the Applauses of that Prince have given us his Story in such confusion, that it is impossible to put it together in due order of time.

Anno 969.
(d) Hoveden.
Annal. An.
969.

C H A P. XX.

Ab Anno 969 ad Annum 1001.

SECT. I. **E**Dgar's Ecclesiastical Laws settle a Parochial Right of Tythes : His Canons enjoin Parents to teach their Children the Creed and Lord's-Prayer.

II. Dunstan's Courage in punishing an Offender, and resisting the Commands of the Bishop of Rome to absolve him.

III. Edgar dies, and Edward succeeds : Great Complaints against Dunstan by the Secular Clergy, a Council meets at Winchester on that occasion : The Seculars generally favoured by King Edward, and the Bishops and Nobility : Dunstan by a pretended Miracle carries his Point.

IV. This pretended Miracle gains no credit, but the Seculars are in many places restored.

V. Several Councils occasioned by the Controversy betwixt Seculars and Monks : Council at Calne, where the Floor falls : This ascribed to Miracle by some, to Magick by others.

VI. King Edward murdered : Ethelred succeeds : He no Friend to the Monks : Dunstan's Design at a stop, during the Reign of this Prince.

VII. Æthelwald, Bishop of Winchester dies : The Seculars and Monks contend for the Succession : Dunstan carries it in favour of the former : Dunstan dies : The Character the Monks give of him : The long Controversy betwixt the Monks of Canterbury and Glaffenbury, about his Body.

VIII. Ethelgar, Bishop of Winchester, succeeds Dunstan, and Siricius him : Oswald, Archbishop of York, and Bishop of Worcester, dies : Practice of holding two Bishopricks begun by the Monks : They the breakers of the Discipline of the Church.

IX. Councils of this Age employed in settling the Revenues of the Church, &c. German and French Clergy married.

X. Doctrine

X. *Doctrine of Transubstantiation unknown to the Church of England: Observations of Monsieur du Pin, on the Writings of Elfric, confirm this Opinion.*

XI. *Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury: Miserable state of the Nation: The Reasons thereof: England becomes Tributary to the Danes.*

XII. *Miseries the English Nation suffered by the Danes, ascribed by some to the decrease of the Monasteries: The ground of that conjecture.*

XIII. *English forced to purchase their Peace with the Danes: Increase of Monasteries in England ever followed by great Mischiefs to the King and Kingdom.*

SECT. I. **A**Lthough the Monastick Institutions did too much exhaust the Zeal of King *Edgar*, yet the Marks he left of his concern for the common Interests of Religion, will deserve to be remembered; for to say nothing of his Laws, which relate to Civil Affairs, his Ecclesiastick Laws and Canons are such as might become a Prince possessed with a just sense of the Honour of GOD. His Laws are but six: Of which,

Anno
969.

1. The first not only requires the payment of Tythes, but seems to settle the Right of Parochial Tythes, or at least to settle a proportion thereof on the adjacent Church.

2. The second gives us the true nature of the *Cyric-Sceat*, and determines it to be a stated Payment, arising from every Freeman's House: And shews how Tythes should be paid, where there is a Church that has a Burying-place; and, on the contrary, where the Church has not a Burying-place.

3. The third appoints the time when Tythes should be paid.

4. The fourth, the Remedy in case of neglect of the two following.

5. The one requires the payment of *Peter-Pence*.

6. The other the observance of the Lord's-Day.

The Canons which pass by the Name of *Edgar's Canons*, are too numerous to be repeated, and are already extant

extant in *Spelman's* and *Labbe's* Collections of the Councils; and although some thereof taste too much of the Age, yet for the most part they are such as might very well become the best of the preceding Ages: But amongst the rest I cannot omit to take notice of the seventeenth and twenty second; the former of which requires every Christian to teach his Children the Creed, and the Lord's-Prayer; and the later forbids any one to undertake the Office of a Godfather, or receive the Sacrament, before they have learnt them; and denies him Christian-burial who persist in his ignorance thereof: Rules that have such Marks of a Spirit truly Christian, as ought to reproach the coldness and indifference, and provoke the Piety of succeeding Ages.

Annis

970.

971.

SECT. II. And it is not unlikely, that *Dunstan* had the Care and Oversight of that Collection; for the fierceness and natural warmth of that Prelate, which led him out of the ways of Pity and Charity, and even Justice it self, in pursuit of the Seculars, had a bright, as well as dark side, and where he had the good luck to place it well, made him an useful Instrument in punishing of Vice, and fitted him to maintain the Dignity of the Character he supported. And he had about this time an occasion offered him to do both; for a certain Count having, by an Incestuous Marriage, deserved the Censures of the Church, *Dunstan* did right to his Station and Character, in putting the Offender under an Excommunication; the Count complained to the King, but that availing nothing he sent an Agent to *Rome*, where Pope *John* the Thirteenth was prevailed upon to send his Brief to Archbishop *Dunstan*, wherein he both commanded and intreated him to absolve the Count, and receive him into the Church: To which *Dunstan* answered, "That if he could see the Offender Penitent, he would willingly obey the Command of his Holiness; but GOD forbid that I should permit him, whilst he continues to wallow in his Sin, to be discharged from the Church's Censures, and insult over me; and GOD forbid that for regard to any Mortal Man, or for saving my own Life, I should suffer the Law of CHRIST to be violated (a).

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
970.

This is said to have passed in a Council this Year, and to excuse a Conduct of *Dunstan*, which agrees so ill

ill with the late Opinions of the Power of the Bishops of *Rome*: *Baronius* pretended, that the Command of the Pope was grounded on a supposition of the Repentance of the Offender; but it is certain, that if he had been Penitent he needed not to have gone to *Rome* for an Advocate; and yet it may be this is the best colour so evident a contempt of the Papal Power is capable of: But when all that is said, this Example of *Dunstan*, and the Conduct of *Edgar* in the Affairs of the Church, the Title he assumed to himself of the Vicar of *CHRIST*, (a) and the Power of *St. Peter's* Sword, which he ascribes to his Bishops, as he does that of *Constantine* to himself, (b) put it beyond a doubt, that the Supremacy of the King, and the independance of the Church of *England* on that of *Rome*, were things not yet brought into dispute.

(a) *Edgari
Leges Concil.
Britan. Vol. 1.
pag. 438.*
(b) *Edgari
Oratio Eadm.
pag. 162. Ed.
Selden.*

SECT. III. But whether *Dunstan* was as just to his Clergy, as he was to the Authority of his See, was by this time become a mighty subject of debate; for it was not a little ferment which the violence of his Proceedings, and the heavy Complaints of the oppressed, and ruined Ecclesiasticks, had by this time spread over the whole Nation; and *Edgar* the great support of their Oppressors, dying this Year, they had great reason to hope, that some way would be found out to accomplish their Relief.

Anno
975.

*King Edgar
dies.
Edward the
Martyr begins
his Reign
Anno 975.*

Besides this unhappy Affair, which made a mighty division in the Nation, the Death of the King gave occasion to a new dispute about the Succession to the Crown; for *Edgar* had two Wives; by *Elfreda*, the former of them, he had a Son named *Edward*; by *Ælfreda*, the latter of his Wives, a Son named *Ethelred*: *Ælfreda* surviving her Husband, pretended that *Edgar* was not lawfully married to *Elfreda*, and therefore set up the Pretensions of her own Son. These two Affairs of the Succession, and the Dispute betwixt the Ecclesiasticks and Monks, occasioned the calling of a Council, which met at *Winchester*. *Dunstan* and his Party favoured the Pretensions of *Edward*, and notwithstanding the Pretence on the other side, the Right was soon adjudged to *Edward*, and he was crowned King.

The other Affair was debated with great warmth on both sides, and not without many and severe Reflecti-

(a) *Council.*
Brit. Tom. 1.
pag. 492.

(b) *Eadmeri.*
Vit. Dunst.
Angl. Sacr.
Part 2. p. 219.

Anno
975.

(c) *Chron.*
Saxon.
An. 975.
Et Florent.
Wigorn.
An. 975.

ons on *Dunstan*, till at least the reason of the Ecclesiasticks so far prevailed, that it is said, the Council generally agreed in desiring *Dunstan* that the Canons might be restored to their places again (a); but whilst a general silence was kept in the Assembly, expecting what Answer the Archbishop would give, of a sudden the Image of our Lord upon the Cross, which was fastned in the Room, is said to have uttered these words, *It must not be, it must not be, you have ordered things well, you shall do ill to change them*: This, as the same Writers say, filled the Council with Consternation, and gave occasion to the Archbishop to say, *My Brethren what would you have more, you have heard the present Affair decided by the Divine Sentence* (b).

S E C T. IV. This Story is told with very different circumstances; the *Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of this Council; and *Florentius*, who remembers the Council makes no mention of the pretended Miracle of the Image; some place this Council in the Reign of *Edgar*, others at this time; yet they who agree in scarce any other particular, for the most part agree in that which looks most like Imposture: Such care was there taken to ruine so many Families, and redouble their Misery, by charging their Oppression upon G O D, and depriving them of the common supports of Pity and Commiseration, which the Compassions of Humane Nature usually intitle the Miserable to.

But whatever credit this Imposture of the speaking Crucifix may have met with in after Ages, the following Transactions shew it had no great Reputation in the present; for the Clergy were so far from acquiescing in this pretended miraculous decision, that the Controversy which had hitherto been confined to words, quickly after, or which is more likely, this very Year was managed in another manner; for now the Nobility, tired with the Artifices and dilatory Proceedings of *Dunstan*, betook themselves to another course, and without any more ado drove out the Monks by force, and restored the Secular Clergy to their ancient Stations (c).

But though our Writers speak of this change in such general Terms as might lead one to think otherwise of it, it seems probable, that the Monks both in the Eastern and Western parts of *England* kept their Houses; and that

that this change chiefly extended to the Midland Parts of *England*, where *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and now both Bishop of that See, and Archbishop of *York*, had formerly dispossessed the Seculars; as for the Northern Parts of *England*, from the Devastation made by the *Danes* in the middle of the Ninth Century, till after the middle of the Eleventh, they had not so much as one Monastery, and did not, as *Dunelmensis* saith, know what a Monk meant (a); besides, they had been engaged in Controversies of a rougher nature, ever since *Dunstan* came to the See of *Canterbury*, and therefore had little share in this Dispute; in this restoration of the Secular Clergy, *Elfer*, a Prince of the *Mercians*, was more particularly active, (b) as *Ethelmin*, a Duke of the *East-Angles*, was in opposing it.

(a) *Dunelm.*
An. 1074.
X. Scriptor.
Col. 206.

(b) *Florent.*
Wigorn.
An. 975.

SECT. V. And as the forefaid Council thus divided the *English* Nation, and produced a sort of a Civil War, the War did in its turn produce new Councils; one of which is said to assemble at *Kirtlington*, but the Transactions of that Council are as little known as the place it self. A second Council is said to have been held at *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, where things are said to have ended so much to the advantage of the Monasticks, and to the Honour of *Dunstan*, that it must not be passed by in silence. The Matter was briefly this: The forefaid unhappy Controversy having occasioned so much Violence and Blood, and in probability like to determine in a Civil War, a Meeting at *Calne* was agreed upon, to find out some Temper which might end, or at least quiet this Affair; but whilst the Matter was under debate in that Assembly, and the Heat seemed to be equal on both sides, and neither side inclined to yield, of a sudden the Timber which supported the Floor gave way, and except the main Beam, sunk under the weight of this great Assembly; but *Dunstan*, by good Fortune, happening to stand over the main Beam (c), this prevented his falling, whilst all the rest of the Assembly fell with the Floor, which sunk under them, and some were killed, and many others maimed and wounded (d).

Anno
977.

(c) *Chron.*
Saxon. *An.* 978

(d) *Ibid.*

And the Judgments which have been made of this Accident, have been more surprizing than the Accident it self; for whilst some of the Favourers of the Monks crow over this sad Accident as a miraculous Testimony

to their Cause, and have fondness enough to talk big of it, as if this Instance of Providence, the reason whereof is unsearchable, was a Testimony from above of GOD's Favour to the Monks; on the other side, there are some who run into the contrary extream, and resolve it into Magick, and charge it upon *Dunstan*; but if the Matter of Fact be true, it is so easy to account for the falling of an over-loaded Floor, without the help of a Miracle, or the Art of Magick, that the Passion and Partiality on both sides seem to have a very equal Title in their Pretensions to our Belief; but to whatever Cause this is to be ascribed, it is very evident, it signified nothing as to the issue and consequence of this Dispute; for it only interrupted, but did not end the Dispute; but it seems most probable, that Accident occasioned the remove of the Council to *Ambresbury*, and that this was the occasion, and this the business of that Council, which *Florentius* and *Jorualensis* affirm to have been held there this Year.

Anno
978.

King Edward
murdered.

Ethelred suc-
ceeds, Anno
978.

SECT. VI. However this Matter stands, *Dunstan* and his Party lost more by another Instance of the unaccountable Methods of GOD's Providence within this Year, then they gained by that which is related in the last; for it pleased GOD to permit the King to be stabbed and murdered by the appointment of his Mother-in-law *Ælfreda*, and this gained that Prince the Title of *Edward the Martyr*, but put the Government in the hands of *Ethelred* the Half-Brother of King *Edward*, and Son of *Ælfreda*, which our Monkish Writers pronounce an Enemy to *Dunstan* and his Party; this Prince was yet but a Youth of about twelve Years of Age, and upon that Account unfit to support the burden of a distracted State; and which was more, in the Opinion of *Dunstan's* Friends, he was in the hands of the opposite Party; and this gave *Dunstan* a great deal of Mortification in putting the Crown upon his Head. However, he did his Duty, and assisted by *Oswald*, Archbishop of *York*, and Bishop of *Worcester*, and ten other Bishops, performed the Ceremony of his Coronation, at *Kingston*, the fourteenth Day of *April*, 978.

But the Legendary Writers who have seldom either Measure or Wisdom in their Favours, but heap upon their Saints every thing that looks great in their own Eyes,

Eyes, tell us, that though *Dunstan* did his Duty to this young Prince, yet he Prophetically told him, that since he had, by the Death of his Brother, aspired to the Crown, the Sword should not depart from his Family till the Kingdom should be given to another (a); and yet for all this, this Prince possessed the Throne for thirty seven Years, which is, it may be, the longest Reign that is to be met with before the *Norman Conquest*.

(a) Osborni
Vit. Dunst.
Ang. Sac.
Part 2. p. 113.

What progress *Dunstan* made in his Design against the Seculars, during the remainders of his Life, does not appear; but it seems probable, that Affair continued in the state it was in at the Death of King *Edward*; and indeed, within a few Years after the accession of *Ethelred* to the Crown, the Depredations of the *Danes*, who had given so much trouble to the preceding Age, begun again; and it seems probable, that this put a stop to Disputes about the Discipline of the Church; and therefore having first remark'd, that the Parochial Clergy had no share in that unhappy Controversy, that the Dispute at present was not, whether it was, or was not lawful for the Clergy to marry; but whether the Cathedrals and Monasteries should be possess'd by Secular Canons, who were generally married, or by Monks who professed Celibacy; accordingly, in all the Disputes, it was not the Marriage, but the dissolute Lives of the Canons that was objected against them; and, on the other hand, the Holiness of the Monks was the great Argument on their sides; and therefore dismissing this Controversy till we meet with it again in a new Dress in the Twelfth Century, it will be time to return, and inquire into the Affairs of the Church, under the new Reign of King *Ethelred*.

SECT. VII. About this time died *Æthelwald*, Bishop of *Winchester*, whose Death gave a great deal of pain to the new Colony of Monks, (b) which he had placed in his Cathedral Church, and raised the hopes of the Seculars he had dispossessed, and both sides plied their Interests for the Succession, the former in hopes to fix themselves, the others in prospect of being restored (c). According to these different Views, whilst the Monasticks solicited for the Succession of a Monk, the Ecclesiasticks laboured to put that Trust into the hands of a Secular; but *Dunstan*, who had also a great share in the loss of

(b) Eadmeri
Vit. Dunst.
Ang. Sac.
Part 2. p. 221.

(c) Ibid.

this Prelate, could not oversee an Interest which lay so open; and therefore made all his Interest for *Elphegus*, Abbot of *Bath*, who succeeded the same Year in the See of *Winchester*, to the Joy of the Monks, and the great disappointment of the Ecclesiasticks.

Anno
988.

After *Dunstan*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had filled that Chair about twenty seven Years, he died this Year, leaving behind him the Title of the Father and Restorer of the *English* Monks, who, to give them their due, have been wanting in no kind of Honour or Gratitude they were capable of paying to his Memory, which they have celebrated in such extravagant Strains, as if all the Perfections in the World were centred in a Zeal for, and esteem of those Institutions: Nor did their Honours stop at the Memory of this Prelate, but descended to his very Ashes, and in time gave occasion to such notorious Impostures, as one of his Successors thought himself obliged to expose and condemn. The occasion was this: The Corps of *Dunstan* was buried at *Canterbury*; yet about the Eleventh Century, the Monks of *Glassenbury* pretended that some Monks of that Abby had privately stolen from *Canterbury* the Bones of that Prelate, and carried them to *Glassenbury*, where great Devotions were paid to them by the People, and great Miracles said to be wrought by them.

(a) Epist.
Edmeri ad
Glassen. Ang.
Sac. Part 2.
pag. 222.

This bold pretence so alarmed the Monks of *Canterbury*, that *Eadmer*, (a) one of that Body, was employed to shew their Mistake; and in an Epistle of his to this purpose, about the Year 1124, to the Monks of *Glassenbury*, he tells them, that the Coffin in which the Body of *Dunstan* was laid, was intire in the time of Archbishop *Lanfrank*, when, by reason of a Fire which happened in the Church of *Canterbury*, it was, in the presence of a great concourse of People, removed and deposited in another place (b).

(b) Ibid.

Notwithstanding this, the Monks of *Glassenbury* pretended, that for an hundred Years they had been in possession of *Dunstan's* Bones; and as they maintained that pretence, so they continued undisturb'd in their veneration to the pretended Bones, till the beginning of the Sixteenth Century, when they caused a new Shrine to be made, (c) wherein they pretended, that the Bones of *Dunstan* were Inshrined, and mighty Devotions and great

(c) Epist.
W. Warham.
Archiep. Cant.
Ang. Sac.
Part 2. p. 229.

great Oblations were paid to this new Shrine. This was so open and scandalous an Imposture, to say no more of it, that Archbishop *Warham* took a great deal of pains to confute it; and, in order thereunto, caused the Grave of *Dunstan* to be opened, the twentieth of *April* 1508, where the Coffin of that Prelate was found entire, and therein such of his Bones, and all the unwasted remains of his Flesh, which were not consumed with time; and having caused the Truth of this discovery to be duly attested, sent his Certificate thereof, together with a Letter of his own, to the Abbot of *Glassenbury* (a).

(a) Ibid.

But notwithstanding this, the Abbot and Convent persisted in their pretence; and instead of suppressing the Imposture, they answered the Archbishop, that if it were true which His Grace had said, yet if they should forbear shewing his Bones to the People, and forbid their worshipping them, they should be guilty of Sacrilege against the Saint, and the boldest wickedness against GOD: For, says the Abbot, *who-so-ever shall see the daily concourse of People, without their Cloaths, and bare-footed, daily praying, would, without doubt, say to us, what is said by Gamaliel, in the fifth of the Acts, Let these Men alone, lest perhaps ye seem to fight against GOD.*

Quicumque enim presens cerneret assiduum concursum populi, vestibibus exuti, nudis pedibus, quotidie supplicantis, diceret nobis, proculdubio, id quod Actum quinto à Gamaliele dictum legitur, finite illos ne forte & Deo repugnare videamini. Epist. Abbat. *Glassen. Ang. Sac. Part 2. p. 230.*

Thus was their Sin made the reason for the continuance of it, so hard is it to set Men right when Superstition and Interest happen to be on a side.

SECT. VII. This is so deplorable an Instance of the corruption of the *English* Church, that one cannot think on it but with Sorrow, nor relate it without Regret; and it had not been inserted here, but to caution the Reader not to be forward in crediting Men who abandon themselves to Superstition and mistaken Instances of Zeal and Holiness, and to give him a taste what he might expect, could one permit ones self to mark out the extravagancies which pass for History amongst some Men.

Anno
988.

This being said of Archbishop *Dunstan*, it will be time to return to the Affairs which succeeded upon his Death: *Ethelgar*, late Abbot of the new Monastery in *Winchester*, and at this time Bishop of *Winchester*, succeeded to the Chair of *Canterbury* the Year following, but

but dying the same Year, our Historians are not agreed who succeeded, some confidently pronouncing in favour of *Siricius*, others of *Elfricus*; but a late Learned Antiquary determines positively on the side of *Siricius* (a).

(a) *Anglia Sacra. Pars I. p. 103.*

The great Friend of *Dunstan*, and the fierce Enemy of the Ecclesiasticks, *Oswald*, Archbishop of *York*, and Bishop of *Worcester*, did not long survive *Dunstan*, but dying this Year, *Aldulf*, Abbot of *Peterborough*, succeeded in both those Sees, a Corruption, as *Monsieur du Pin* well observes, which had its original in this Age (b); and in *England* was begun by the Patrons of the Monasticks; *Dunstan* first led the way, holding at once the Bishopricks of *Worcester* and *London*, and was followed herein by the two forementioned Prelates, a Practice which would have been thought an unpardonable Irregularity amongst the Ancients; but whether it was, that they had not Men that they could trust in those Stations, or whether it was, that the unaccountable Zeal for the Monastick Institutions, could not be carried on without such helps, or the Ambition they are so forward to blame in other Men, that occasioned this irregular Practice, is not easy to determine.

(b) *Du Pin's Eccl. Hist. Cent. 10. p. 68.*

Nor did the Monks only break through the Discipline of the Church, but broke in upon that Order, to whom the care of GOD's Church was principally committed, and to raise themselves above the place their Predecessors had held in the Church, gave beginning to those Practices and Opinions which lessened that Apostolick Institution of Bishops; for one the least conversant in the Ecclesiastick Story cannot but observe, that it was the Monasticks which first broke in upon the veneration, the best Ages of the Church ever paid to that Order of Men; and in time not only withdrew themselves from the Obedience due to their Bishops, but usurp'd a great part of their Power, insulted their Persons and their Order, and broke the measures of Government, established by the best Ages of the Catholick Church; but though the observation of the Learned *Du Pin* has led me thus far, it will be time enough to consider this Matter particularly, when we come to relate the Disturbances they gave to the whole Western Church, in setting

setting up Pretences to be exempted from the Authority of their Bishops.

SECT. IX. But I cannot end my Reflections on this Century, without making the same observation of the Church of *England* in particular, which *Monsieur du Pin* (a) does of this Century in general, that the Church had little trouble from Doctrinal Disputes in this Age; but her Councils were chiefly employed in the Settlement of Tythes, in censuring those who usurp'd the Revenues of the Church, and in prohibiting the Marriages of near Relations; and I must add, some of them in discountenancing the Marriage of the Clergy; for so I suppose that Writer means by censuring Churchmen who kept Concubines; and yet, notwithstanding all the Zeal that was spent in discountenancing the Marriage of the Clergy, in an Epistle of Pope *Leo* the Seventh (b), it appears, that the *French* and *German* Clergy of this Age were generally married. And *Mezeray* saith of the *French* Clergy in the preceding Age, that for the most part it was Lewdness, not Chastity, that made some of them omit it; for that the best of the Clergy were those that married (c).

Notwithstanding what *Monsieur du Pin* had observed before, of the freedom of this Age from Disputes about Matters of Faith, he observes from the Writer of the Life of *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that there were some Clergymen in *England*, in this Century, who positively affirmed, that the Bread and Wine on the Altar retained the very same Substance after Consecration; and that they were only the Representations of the Body and Blood of *JESUS CHRIST*, and not his Real Body and Blood; but upon a Prayer of *Odo*, that *GOD* would shew the very Substance of those Mysteries, some drops of Blood issued out of the Consecrated Bread (d), which, says *Monsieur du Pin*, from that Author, so convinced those who doubted of the Real Presence of the Body of *JESUS CHRIST* in the Eucharist, that they abjured their Error (e). But it is well observed by the Learned Annotator on the Life of *Odo* (f), that *Osbern*, the Writer thereof, was the Dependant and Creature of Archbishop *Lanfrank*, who laboured to introduce the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* into *England*; and this gives great probability to the Opinion of that

(a) *Eccles. Hist. Cent. 10. pag. 68.*

(b) *Concil. Tom. 9. Lab. Col. 698.*

(c) *Mezeray Life Charlem. pag. 112.*

Anno 992.

(d) *Osberni Vit. Odonis Ang. Sac. Part 2. p. 83.*

(e) *Du Pin Eccles. Hist. Cent. 10. Chap. 6. p. 66.*

(f) *Anglia Sac. Part 2. p. 82.*

Learned Antiquary, that the 'foresaid Story was a Fiction of *Osbern*, designed to give the Reputation of Antiquity to the new Doctrine of *Lanfrank*.

SECT. X. So that if the 'foresaid Learned Historian had thought fit to abide by his former Observation, or have carried it further, and said, that the Clergy of *England* in this Age, denied the Corporal Presence, and have passed by this Story of *Odo*, his History would have agreed better with it self, and with the *English* History, and his Observation would have been much more sutable to the Candour and true Judgment which are the distinguishing Excellencies of that Learned Writer; for, in all probability, the Controversy about the Presence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament had hitherto made no Impressions on the *English* Church; but as they continued in the ancient Doctrine, there is no doubt but they continued the ancient way of speaking of the Holy Elements; and therefore we cannot expect to hear any thing of Transubstantiation; for they who pretend to the Antiquity of that Doctrine, cannot but own that the Mode and Form of speaking, used by *Paschasius*, and those who followed him in this Controversy, were before unknown to the Christian Church, at least not used therein.

(a) Du Pin's
Eccles. Hist.
Gent. 9. p. 71.

And so much that Learned Author owns to be confessed by the Learned *Mabillon*, whose words he quotes to that purpose (a); certain it is, that *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, died about the Year 956; and if the 'foresaid Miracle before that time had determined in favour of the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, one would not have expected, that Homilies appointed to be read in the Church of *England*, fifty Years after; and these, if *Monsieur du Pin* be not mistaken, composed by *Ælfrick*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, should assert a Doctrine directly contrary to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; and yet this was the case, if that Author himself be not mistaken.

And indeed, however the 'foresaid Writer of *Odo's* Life may pretend, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was received in his Time in *England*, the Account of *Ælfrick's* Works, from *Monsieur du Pin* himself, will give great reason to think, that it was unknown in *England*, in the beginning of the Eleventh Century; therefore it will

will be fit to defer the consideration of this Controversy till that time, and return to observe the Transactions which conclude the present Age.

SECT. XI. And here we have a Story so jejune and empty, that excepting what is said of the Death of *Sigeric*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the advancement of *Ælfrick* to his Chair in the compass of this Year, there is little or nothing one can challenge to the History of the Church, whilst those of the State have, GOD knows, a great deal too much; and yet the advantage is on the side of the former; for the Historians of the State have nothing to remember, but what we have reason to wish had never been, the Desolation, and Misery, and Shame of our Country; for the *Danes* about this time burnt our Cities, laid waste the Country, and filled the Nation with Rapines, Massacres, and Blood.

Anno
995.

And as if GOD had not thought this Punishment enough to the *English* Nation, nor his Vengeance had its full Measure, without our Ancestors becoming Parties to their own shame and undoing, he gave them up to Sloth and Folly, to Treachery and Falshood: And thus they broke their own Measures, blasted their Designs, and defeated their own Arms; and instead of a bold and generous defence of themselves, they gave the *Danes* great Summs to buy their Peace, or, I should rather say, to buy their undoing; for this reproachful evidence of their want of Courage, still drew new Enemies upon them, and brought them to such a pass, that in the beginning of the next Century they were forced to compound, and yield to pay a yearly Tribute to the *Danes* and *Norwegians*.

SECT. XII. And it is not without grounds, that some of our Historians ascribe the wretched Defence of the *English*, and their dishonourable Submission, to that Zeal for the Monastick Institutions, which had exhausted the Wealth of the Nation, and emasculated her People (a). Certain it is, that these are Causes which have a natural tendence to such Effects; and when the same Spirit prevailed in *England* in the beginning of the Eighth Century, *Bede* did not stick to say, that it rendred so many Men unfit for Arms, that there was reason to fear, there would not be Men enough to defend their Country, (b) and the event was answerable; for before the

Anno
996.

(a) Brady's
Hist. Eng.
pag. 122. A.

(b) Bed. Epist.
ad Egbert.
pag. 260.

end

end of that Century, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* had settled themselves in *England*; and by the time that *Alfred* came to the Crown, which was in the Year 872, they were in a manner Masters of all *England*.

But the Writer of that Prince's Life observes, that about that time, that King *Alfred* came to the Crown, the Monasteries of *England* were not only generally ruined, but also, that the *English* Nation was become so averse to the Monastick Life, that when that Prince had built a Monastery, he was forced to send to *France* and *Flanders* to get Men to fill it: The reason of this one would not pretend to say; but it is evident, that from that time a warlike Spirit begun to revive in the *English* Nation; insomuch, that during the Reign of that Prince, they beat the *Danes* in so many Battels, that before the end of this Prince's Reign the greatest part of them were driven out of *England*, and the remainder forced to accept of such Terms of Submission as that Prince thought fit to give them.

Thus stood the Affairs of the *English* at the Death of King *Alfred*, in the Year 900; and in some tolerable quiet did things continue for about forty Years after, about which time the Monastick Spirit revived again; and in a course of about forty Years continuance, the Building, Endowing, and Adorning of Religious Houses drew away a great deal of Wealth, and deprived the Publick of abundance of useful Persons; and which is, it may be, more than all the rest, influenced the Publick Councils, and turn'd the Spirit of the Nation to such sort of Pilgrimages and Penances, as might raise the Honour of those Foundations, but did, at the same time, call Men to Sloth and Ease, and the neglect of warlike Discipline and Order.

Anno

999.

SECT. XIII. If these were not the immediate Causes of the Miseries which at this time overspread the *English* Nation, certain it is, that after this Monastick Spirit had thus prevailed for about forty Years, the *Danes* and *Norwegians* made new Attempts upon *England*; and, about the Year 991 had a Summ of ten thousand Pounds given them by the *English* to obtain their Peace; about three or four Years after they had sixteen thousand Pounds; and about the Year 1002, the Summ of four and twenty thousand Pounds, and a Yearly Tribute; the

the Year 1007, thirty six thousand Pounds ; the Year 1012 forty eight thousand Pounds ; and six Years after, seventy two thousand Pounds, and all to buy their Peace.

In short, from the latter end of this Century, till the *Norman Conquest*, *England* was a Contempt and a Prey to the *Danes*, the *Norwegians*, and the *Normans* ; and was never able to defend it self, till the *Norman Revolution* put the defence of *England* out of the hands of the *English* ; and it is so evident, that when the *Norman Vigour* had spent it self, and the *Monastick Spirit* grew up again, the strength of the Nation was so visibly weakened thereby, that the Outrages offered to *Henry the First* and *Second*, to *King John*, and the Insults and Contempts the Kings of *England*, for several Ages, received from *Rome*, were, if not intirely, yet chiefly owing to that Spirit which made so much of the Wealth of *England*, and so many Men useless to the Crown, and drew so great an Interest into the hands of a Foreign Power.

Though I have digressed thus far, to shew that it is not without grounds, that our late Historians ascribe the Miseries which about this time fell upon *England*, to the *Monastick Spirit*, and the consequences thereof ; yet the Methods of Providence are so unsearchable, that one must not pretend to penetrate the Secrets GOD has reserved to himself ; therefore, without pretending to fix the reasons of those Calamities which so long exercised the Patience of the *English* Nation, I shall content my self to pursue the Steps and Motions thereof, and leave to other Men the Honour of ascertaining the Reason and Occasions of those heavy Judgments.

T t t t

CHAP.

C H A P. XXI.

Ab Anno 1001 ad Annum 1027.

SECT. I. **K**ing Ethelred marries Emma, Sister to the Duke of Normandy: Ælfrick, Archbishop of Canterbury, compos'd a Body of Homilies.

II. Homilies of Ælfrick received into the Church, and appointed to be read: The necessity thereof: The subject of the Sermon for Easter-Day is the Holy Sacrament.

III. The Controversy about that Holy Rite, occasioned by the figurative way of speaking usual in the Eastern Nations.

IV. Paschasius's new way of speaking of the Sacrament: Begins the Controversy on that Subject in the Western Church: Ratramus writes against him.

V. Scotus employed to write on the same Subject: Church of England had no share in this Controversy.

VI. Doctrine of the Church of England, as stated in the Homily of the Sacrament, contrary to that of Transubstantiation.

VII. Agreement betwixt this Sermon, and the Book of Ratramus: The Canons and Prayers of the Church of England agree with the Homilies.

VIII. Keeping of the Elements consecrated on Easter-Day: And also private Masses forbid by the Church of England: The Reason of that prohibition.

IX. Ælfrick, Archbishop of Canterbury, attempts to persuade the Clergy to renounce their Wives: He thrusts the married Canons out of the Cathedral of Canterbury.

X. A Council meets at Engsham: The occasion and result of that Council.

XI. The Fleet and Army of King Ethelred come to nothing: Swane, King of Denmark, forces Ethelred to send the Queen and his Sons to Normandy, and at last to fly thither himself.

XII. Swane dies: Ethelred recalled, and resumes his Kingdom: He dies.

XIII. Ca-

XIII. Canutus, *King of Denmark, received as King of England: The English Line put by the Crown.*

XIV. Canutus Crowned by Lyving, *Archbishop of Canterbury: Grants great Privileges to the Church and See of Canterbury: Christianity corrupted by the Converted Danes.*

XV. Canute forced to make *Laws against Idolatry and Superstition: Pilgrimages, Visiting Shrines, and a great Zeal for Reliques prevail: These Corruptions occasioned by the imperfect Conversions of the Danes.*

SECT. I. **K**ing *Ethelred* had reigned about two and twenty Years when this Century begun; but his Reign had been one continued Scene of War and Embroilment; and so far had he and his Nobility abandoned themselves to Sloth and Trifling, that his Views were at this time very unpromising; however, that he might not be altogether wanting to his Interest, his Queen *Elgiva* dying, he endeavoured to strengthen himself by a Marriage about this time, with *Emma*, Daughter to *Richard Duke of Normandy*, hoping by the Interest of that Prince, to put a stop to the Attempts of the *Danes*; but this promising Expectance came to nothing; on the contrary, that Match opened the way to the ruine of his Posterity, in the Conquest of the *Normans*.

Anno
1001.

But amidst the Distractions of the State, GOD was pleased to raise up some considerable Men in the Church, amongst whom *Ælfrick*, at this time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, has deservedly the first place; and if he be not mistaken, for that *Ælfrick* who was Archbishop of *York*, some time after, and the Works of the latter applied to him, he was the greatest *Englishman* that had ever filled that Chair: But a late very Learned and Judicious Antiquary (a) in his Dissertation on that Subject, gives great reason to think, that the Writings of *Ælfrick*, known by the Name of the *Grammarian*, and the Composer of the Sermons and Canons which pass under the Name of *Ælfrick's*, were the Works of the later *Ælfrick*, or *Alfricus Putta*, who was made Archbishop of *York* about the Year 1023; but notwithstanding the Reasons of that Learned Writer to the contrary, the former *Ælfrick*, at this time

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(a) *Anglia Sacra. Pars 1. p. 125.*

Arch-

Archbishop of *Canterbury*, has generally had the Honour of being thought the Compiler of the 'foresaid Works.

Anno 1003. S E C T. II. But what is past dispute is enough to my present purpose, without entring into Controversy, to whom the Honour of composing the Sermons aforesaid does belong; for when the Performances of private Men are received into a Church, and by the Authority thereof take place amongst the publick and standing Offices of that Church, the Doctrines contained therein are no longer the Sentiments of private Men, but are to be reputed the Doctrines of that Church, which by that reception renders it self accountable for them. This I take to be the case of that Affair the order of time calls me to remember.

Anno 1003. The Miseries the *English* Nation had for some time groaned under, had occasioned so general a decay of Learning, that the inferior Clergy were not thought fit altogether to be trusted with the Instruction of their People; and therefore, the better to provide against the dangers which might arise, either from their Neglect or Insufficiency, courses of Sermons, or Homilies, containing an Account of such Doctrinal Points and Practical Duties as were most necessary for their Belief and Instruction, had from time to time been received into the Church: It is probable this was the case of those Homilies, which had been collected by *Alcuinus* in the Eighth Century, and are yet extant in the Works of that Learned Writer; and, in the beginning of this Century, a great number of Homilies, composed by *Ælfrick*, who, for his great Merit, had been advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, were appointed to be read in the Churches of *England*, amongst which there is a Sermon or Discourse on the Blessed Sacrament, which was appointed to be read in Churches on *Easter-Day*, the better to prepare the People for the receiving of the Holy Sacrament.

And because this Sermon gives us the best view of the present sense of the Church of *England*, as to the Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament; and it is with mighty assurance, that the Advocates of Transubstantiation plead Antiquity, and charge the present Church of *England* with departing from the ancient Church, it will

will be requisite to set this Matter in its true light ; and, in order thereunto, to look a little backward, and observe the rise and motions of this Controversy, and then one may be able to judge on which side the Novelty lies.

SECT. III. The better to convey to the Minds of Men, a just Idea of things invisible, the Eastern Nations made great use of the objects of Sense ; and this occasioned the Parabolical and Figurative way of speaking, which is visible in all the Eastern Writers ; accordingly our Blessed Saviour, to give his Disciples a right apprehension of the Offices he was to perform, sometimes calls himself the Shepherd, the Vine, the Way, the Truth, the Life, and the Resurrection, and the Bread which came down from Heaven ; and continuing the same way of speaking, when he Instituted the Holy Sacrament, he called the Elements of Bread and Wine, his Body and Blood ; but if the commonness of this way of speaking had not put it out of doubt, what he meant, it was impossible for those who were Eye-witnesses to this Institution, and saw his natural Body before their Eyes, to conceive that *CHRIST* meant, or that they did eat the Body which was sitting at Table with them.

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And therefore though the first Ages continued the same way of speaking of the Holy Elements, and when there was occasion for it, spoke of that Holy Institution with the most profound Reverence, and the highest Expressions of Love and Devotion ; yet whenever they explained the manner of *CHRIST*'s Presence in that Sacrament, they ever spoke of it as all the Eastern Nations must necessarily understand it as figurative and relative.

SECT. IV. This way of speaking was continued down to the Ninth Century, when *Paschasius*, a Monk, and after Abbot of *Corbey* in *France*, undertaking to explain the manner of *CHRIST*'s Presence in the Holy Sacrament, introduced a way of speaking before unknown to the Christian Church ; and instead of saying as the Ancients had ever done, that the Holy Elements were the Figures of *CHRIST*'s Body and Blood, which were really, and to all those Holy Purposes to which our Lord designed them, present in the Holy Sacrament, but under the Veil of material Bread and Wine,

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he presumes thus to express himself: "That although
 " in the Sacrament there be the Figure of Bread and
 " Wine, yet we must believe it after Consecration, to
 " be nothing else but the Body and Blood of *CHRIST*.
 And explaining himself he adds, "It is no other Flesh
 " than that which was born of *Mary*, suffered on the
 " Cross, and rose again from the Grave.

(a) Usher's
Answer to the
Jesuits Chall.
 pag. 74.
 (b) Du Pin's
Eccles. Hist.
 Cent. 9. p. 71.

(c) Ratrami
Lib. de Corpor.
& Sanguin.
Christ. Præs.
 pag. 4. Ed.
 Lond.

Sirmondus, who, as Bishop *Usher* observes, asserts this
 to be the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, does yet
 own, that *Paschasius* began this way of speaking (a);
 and *Mabillon* follows him in that Opinion (b); however
 that be, it is certain, that Opinion of *Paschasius* gave
 great Offence to the Church of *France*; and by the ap-
 pointment of *Charles the Bald*, *Ratramus*, a Monk like-
 wise of the Abby of *Corbey*, wrote an Answer to *Pascha-*
sius (c), or rather to the Question of that Prince upon
 the occasion thereof; the Question was, Whether the
 Body and Blood of *CHRIST*, which in the Church is
 received by the Mouth of the Faithful, be celebrated in
 a Mystery, or in the Truth? and whether it be the same
 Body which was born of *Mary*, which did Suffer, was
 Dead, and Buried, and which rising again, and ascend-
 ing into Heaven, sitteth at the right Hand of the Fa-
 ther?

(d) Ratrami
 pag. 14.

The Question being thus stated by *Charles the Bald*,
Ratramus returned this Answer, "That the Bread and
 " Wine are the Body and Blood of *CHRIST* figura-
 " tively (d); that for the Substance of the Creatures,
 " that which they were before Consecration, the same
 " also are they afterward; that they are called the Lord's
 " Body and Blood, because they take the Name of that
 " thing of which they are the Sacrament; and that there
 " is a great difference betwixt the Mystery of the Blood
 " and Body of *CHRIST*, which is now taken by the
 " Faithful in the Church, and that which was born of
 " the Virgin *Mary*, which suffered, which was buried,
 " which rose again, which sitteth at the right Hand of
 " the Father.

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SECT. V. It seems probable, that *Johannes Scotus*
 was likewise by the same Emperor engaged in this Con-
 troversy; and yet whilst this Controversy made a noise,
 and gave some disquiet to the Church of *France*, about
 the middle of the Ninth Century, it seems very probable,
 that

that the Church of *England* had no share in it; but, on the contrary, that it continued quiet, in possession of the ancient Doctrine, till the latter end of this Century, when *Lanfrank* first introduced the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*. In the mean time, to judge truly of the present sense of the Church of *England*, it will be requisite to return to the Homily of *Ælfrick*, which occasioned this digression.

A course of Sermons being composed or turned into *English* by that Prelate, the subject of that Sermon which was appointed to be read to the People of *England* on *Easter-Day*, was the Holy Sacrament, where we may expect the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, if it was at this time the Doctrine of the *English* Church. This Homily is still in Manuscript in the publick Library of *Oxford*, and in the Library of *Bennet-College* in *Cambridge*, and was long since published in the *English* Tongue, and since both in *Saxon* and *Latin* by Mr. *Wheelock*, in his Edition of *Bede* (a); however, because it is not common, and will enable us to make a Judgment of the present sense of the Church of *England* in this particular, it may be worth the labour to transcribe, at least so much as relates to this Controversy from that Copy, followed by the Learned Primate of *Ireland*, where the words of the Homily run thus (b).

(a) Bed.
Eccl. Hist.
pag. 462.

(b) Usher's
Answer to the
Jesuit. p. 77.

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SECT. VI. The Bread and Wine which by the Priests Ministry is hallowed, shew one thing without to Mens Senses, and another thing they call within to believing Minds; without they be seen both Bread and Wine in Figure and in Taste, and they be truly, after their hallowing, *CHRIST*'s Body and his Blood by Spiritual Mystery; so the Holy Font-Water is called the Well-Spring of Life, is like in shape to other Waters, and is subject to corruption, but the Holy Ghost's Might cometh to the corruptible Water, thro' the Priest's Blessing, and it may after wash the Body and Soul from all Sin by Spiritual Vertue; behold now we see two things in this one Creature in true Nature, that Water is corruptible Moisture, and in Spiritual Mystery hath Heavenly Vertue; so also if we behold that Holy Houfel after bodily sense, then see we that it is a Creature corruptible and mutable, if we acknowledge therein Spiritual Vertue, then understand we

‘we that Life is therein, and that it giveth Immortality
 ‘to them that eat it with belief; much difference is be-
 ‘twixt the Body *CHRIST* suffered in, and the Body
 ‘that is hallowed to Housel.

‘The Body truly that *CHRIST* suffered in was born
 ‘of the Flesh of *Mary*, with Blood and with Bone, with
 ‘Skin and with Sinews, in human Limbs, with a reaso-
 ‘nable Soul living, and his Spiritual Body, which we
 ‘call the Housel, is gathered of many Corns, without
 ‘Blood and Bone, without Limb, without Soul, and
 ‘therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily,
 ‘but spiritually.

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‘Whatever is in that Housel which giveth substance
 ‘of Life, that is Spiritual Vertue and invisible doing,
 ‘certainly *CHRIST*’s Body which suffered Death, and
 ‘rose from Death, shall never die henceforth, but is
 ‘eternal and unpassable, that Housel is temporal, not
 ‘eternal, corruptible, and dealed into sundry parts,
 ‘chewed between Teeth and sent into the Belly: This
 ‘Mystery is a Pledge and a Figure, *CHRIST*’s Body
 ‘is Truth it self; this Pledge we do keep mystically
 ‘until we come to the Truth it self, and then is this
 ‘Pledge ended: *CHRIST* hallowed Bread and Wine
 ‘to Housel before his Suffering, and said, *This is my*
 ‘*Body and my Blood*, as he before did in the Wilderness,
 ‘before that he was born to Men, when he turned that
 ‘Heavenly Meat to his Flesh, and the flowing Water
 ‘from that Stone to his own Blood: *Moses* and *Aaren*,
 ‘and many others of that People which pleased *GOD*,
 ‘did eat that Heavenly Bread, and died not the ever-
 ‘lasting Death; though they died the common, they
 ‘saw that heavenly Meat was visible and corruptible;
 ‘and they spiritually understood by that visible thing,
 ‘and spiritually received it.

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1003.

SECT. VII. In this Homily we see what the sense
 of the Church of *England*, was at this time concerning
 the Presence of *CHRIST* in the Sacrament; and if
 this Homily be compared with the Discourse of *Ratra-*
mus, it will appear that the late Learned Primate of *Ire-*
land (a), and since him *Monsieur du Pin*, (b) have rightly
 observed, that *Ælfric* has the same Notions, and in ma-
 ny places the same Arguments and Words that were be-
 fore made use of by *Ratramus*. And this leads one a
 little

(a) Usher’s
 Answer to the
 Jesuit. p. 77.
 (b) Du Pin’s
 Eccles. Hist.
 Cent. 10. p. 66.

little further to observe the Agreement betwixt the Churches of *France* and *England*, in this particular: And it is well observed, by the Learned Primate, that as the Church thus taught her People, the Canons ascribed to *Ælfric*, of the same date, shew us what these Instructions were which she delivered to her Clergy in the Synodical Meetings of the Bishops. And in an Epistle directed to *Wulfstine*, Bishop of *Sherborne*, we read thus (a), (a) Usher's Answer to the Jesuit. p. 79.

‘ That Housel is *CHRIST*’s Body, not Bodily, but Spiritually; not that Body which he suffered in, but the Body of which he spake when he blessed Bread and Wine to Housel, the Night before his Suffering, and said by the Blessed Bread, *This is my Body*; and again, by the Holy Wine, *This is my Blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of Sins*.

And another Discourse of the same date, directed to *Wulfstane*, Archbishop of *York*, is to this effect (b); (b) Ibid.

‘ The Lord which hallowed Housel before his Suffering, and saith, that the Bread was his own Body, and that the Wine was truly his Blood, halloweth daily by the hands of the Priest, Bread to his Body and Wine to his Blood in spiritual Mystery, as we read in Books, and yet notwithstanding that lively Bread is not bodily so, nor the self-same Body that *CHRIST* suffered in, nor that Holy Wine is the Saviour’s Blood which was shed for us in Bodily Thing, but in Spiritual Understanding; both be truly that Bread his Body, and that Wine also his Blood, as was the Heavenly Bread, which we call Manna, that fed forty Years God’s People, and the clear Water which did then run from the Stone in the Wilderness, was truly his Blood, as *Paul* wrote in one of his Epistles.

Thus saith the Learned Primate (c), were the Priest and People taught to believe in the Church of *England*, towards the end of the Tenth, and in the beginning of the Eleventh Age. And in another Canon of *Ælfrick*, (c) Ejusdem, pag. 80. Anno 1004.

concerning the degrees of the Clergy, (d) the same thing is again repeated. And in an Epistle of the same Prelate to his Clergy on the same subject, he again tells them, speaking of the Holy Eucharist, ‘ This Sacrifice is not the Body in which *CHRIST* suffered for us, nor the Blood which he shed

(a) Non sit tamen hoc Sacrificium corpus ejus quo passus est pro nobis, nec sanguis ejus, quem pro nobis effudit, sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur & sanguis. Epist. Ælfrici ad Sacerdotes. M. S. Coll. C. C. Cant. Hickelii Thesaurus. p. 109.

‘ for us, but it is made his Body and Blood spiritually.

And a Prayer used in the Communion-Service, was answerable to the sense the Church of this Age entertain’d of that Holy Rite, where the Priest was obliged

to pray in this Form: ‘ We beseech

‘ thee Almighty GOD, that him whom

‘ we behold in a Figure, and under a-

‘ nother Form, by whom we are Sa-

‘ cramentally fed here in Earth, that

‘ through him we may see him Face to

‘ Face, and deserve truly and really to enjoy him in

‘ Heaven.

Concede quesumus omnipotens Deus ut quem enigmatice, & sub aliena specie cernimus, quo sacramentalitur cibamur in terris, eo sicuti est veraciter, & realiter frui mereamur in cælis per eundem. Amen. Hicessii Thesaurus. Cod. Ang. Sax. Bibliothecæ Bodliane 101.

Anno

1004.

SECT. VIII. Nor was the Church of this Age thus careful to set her People right in the Doctrine of the Sacrament, but also to prevent the Abuses which some mistaken Opinions had run some of her Clergy into, relating to the Elements themselves, and the manner of celebrating the Holy Eucharist; therefore, as the Canons of this Age (a) take notice of a Superstitious Opinion amongst some Men, of a more particular Vertue and Efficacy in the Elements consecrated on *Easter-Day*, which led some of the Clergy to keep them till they became mouldy, or rotten, or were eaten by the Mice; so they expressly forbid this Practice, and condemn the Opinion on which it was founded, declaring that there was no difference betwixt the Elements consecrated on *Easter-Day*, and those consecrated at other times (b).

(a) *Canones Ælfrici Mss. fol. 282.*

(b) *Ibid.*

There was another Practice more injurious to the end of that Holy Institution, which for some time had been growing up in the Church of *England*, and which about this time the Church endeavoured to cure; and this was, a Practice of private Sacraments used in some places, when they wanted Company to Communicate with the Priest; but that Holy Institution being not only intended as a Seal of the Covenant betwixt GOD and Man, but also as a Symbol of Communion and Good-Will amongst Men: The Church of *England* was particularly careful to stop the growth of this irregular Practice. That Instance of this her care, which the order of Time calls me now to relate, is grounded upon a Canon of the *Saxon* Church, in that Collection of Canons remaining in *Bennet-College* Library, and probably the Work of this Age, and of the present Archbishop

bishop of *Canterbury*: The seventy fifth is Intituled, a Canon concerning them who presume to sing Mass alone, contrary to the Canons of the Church, and this Canon at once confutes and forbids that irregular Practice, and requires, 'That no Priest alone presume to celebrate Mass; for, saith that Canon, the words of our Saviour, who instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, the Directions of *St. Paul* relating to that Institution, and the Usage of the Apostles, allow no such practice.

' Besides, saith that Canon, how absurd is it for the Priest to celebrate the Sacrament of *CHRIST*'s Body and Blood, when the Priest, for want of Company cannot say, *The Lord be with you*, and there is no body to answer him, *And with thy Spirit*; or for whom does he pray when he says, *Lord remember thy Servants, and thy Handmaids, and all the Congregation*, when there is no body present: And then concludes, 'That this Custom was contrary to Apostolick and Ecclesiastick Authority, and is to be extirpated and rooted out from amongst the Ministers of *CHRIST*; and if for the future any one presume to do contrary to this Canon, he should be degraded.

Quæ consuetudo Apostolica, & Ecclesiastica auctoritati contraria, eradicanda, & funditus extirpanda est, à Domini Sacerdotibus, & si quis hoc deinceps facere presumpserit, gradus sui periculo subiacebit.

And if this Manuscript Canon do not altogether agree with that Canon on this Subject, published by the Learned Collector of the Councils, the difference lies in the Reason and Sanction, and not in the prohibition; for the Seventh Canon in that Collection is no less express in forbidding the private Mass, (a) than that in the Manuscript.

(a) *Concil. Brit. Vol. 1. pag. 589.*

SECT. IX. These are such Instances of the Zeal and Wisdom of the *English* Church, to preserve the Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament uncorrupt, and keep the celebration thereof in the ancient Channel, as leave Posterity, and indeed Truth it self, indebted to this Age, for such Testimonies against the Corruption of those which followed; and if we add the Advice of *Ælfrick*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Clergy, concerning their Marriage, to what was observed before, in relating the Controversy occasioned by the attempt to force the married Clergy to renounce their Wives, and take the Habit of Religion, or else to quit their Places in

Anno
1004.

Mo-

Monasteries and Cathedrals, we have, it may be, the Judgment of the present Church on that subject.

For it is certain, that *Ælfrick* was a great Patron of the Celibate Clergy, yet his Doctrine and Example will turn to no account to those who assert the unlawfulness of their Marriage; for in his Sermon to his Clergy on that subject, his Address is such as shews he did not believe their Marriage unlawful, whatever Opinion he had of the inexpediency thereof, and his Address was answerable: 'We do not compel you

Non cogimus violenter vos dimittere Uxores vestras, sed diximus vobis qualiter esse debetis. Sermo Ælfrici ad Clericos Ms. Bennet. Coll. Cant. fol. 186.

'to put away your Wives, but inform you how to behave your selves. A

Pattern of Moderation and Temper, that deserved the imitation of those who succeeded him; And reproaches the extravagant Follies of those who found the necessity of Celibacy on the Authority of a married Apostle: And without remembering that *St. Peter*, and in all probability, the most of the Apostles, and some of the greatest Bishops of the first Ages, were married Men, presume to determine the Marriage of their Successors to be unlawful.

But whatever Opinions the later Ages have produced, it is very evident, the *English* Clergy were at this time so far from believing their Marriages unlawful, that upon all occasions they justified themselves by the Example of *St. Peter*; and so far were they from being convinced, or thinking themselves any way obliged by the Canons of *Ælfrick* to renounce their Wives, that when that Prelate vouched the Canons of the Church, their usual Answer was, they had *Peter* for their Example; and therefore in a Discourse of that Prelate upon this occasion, he thus addresses himself to his Clergy.

Ego vobis Clerici mihi subditis dico instituta sanctorum Canonum, &c. Sed vobis hoc mirum, & incredibile videtur, quia habetis vestram miseriam in tam frequenti usu ut non existimatis esse peccatum si Presbyter aut Diaconus, aut Clericus vivat cum uxore sicut Laicus; dicitis quoque quod Petrus Apostolus habuit uxorem & filios. Sermo Ælfrici ad Clericos fol. 186. Ms. Coll. Sancti Benedicti. Cantab.

'When, saith he, I mind you who are the Clergy of my Diocess, of the Injunctions of the Holy Canons, you are surprised with what I say, and think it incredible; and Marriage is a thing so common with you, that you think it no Sin for a Presbyter, a Deacon, or Clerk, to live in a state of Matrimony as the Laity usually do, and are ready upon all occasions to say, that *St. Peter* the Apostle was

‘ was a married Man, and had a Wife and Children.

This Sermon of *Ælfrick* shews, that what had hitherto been done in favour of the Regulars, had had no influence on the Sentiments or Practices of the Parochial Clergy; however, *Ælfrick*, notwithstanding this, and what is said before of the moderation of that Prelate he acted up to his Principle; and about this time disposed the Canons of the Church of *Canterbury* (a), and, by his Interest with King *Ethelred*, gained a confirmation of the change he had made, together with a new Charter, (b) and many additional Privileges to the Monks; and if *William Thorn*, afterwards a Monk of *Canterbury* (c), be not mistaken in placing this Affair in this Year, it seems probable, that this was one of the last Acts of *Ælfric*’s Life; for according to the Account of the *Saxon Chronicle* that Prelate died this Year; according to *Florentius*, the Year following; and *Elphegus*, Bishop of *Winchester*, succeeded him in the See of *Canterbury*.

(a) *Chronicon*
W. Thorn.
Anno 1005.
X. Script.
Col. 1780.
(b) *Concil.*
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 504.
(c) *Chron.*
Thorn.
X. Script.
Col. 1781.

SECT. X. *England* was at this time groaning under the Miseries of Sword and Famine: a Year or two before the *Danes* had with an unresisted Fury laid waste the Country, and without distinction of Sex or Age sacrificed the People to their Revenge and Fury; and this forced those who escaped, to take Sanctuary in Woods or Garrisons, and the Ground was left untilld; and the consequence was what must necessarily ensue, a Famine, which equalled the Cruelties of the Sword; and this forced the *English*, about this time, to make a new Purchase of their Peace, and this again added Poverty to the Miseries of the Sword and Famine.

Anno
1006.

But it was easy to foresee, that this Peace betwixt the *English* and *Danes* would last but a little while, for the event shews, that the Sincerity was much alike on both sides; for this Peace left a Body of the *Danes* in possession of a great part of *England*; and the Nation, without any hopes of being rid of those Guests but by force: and therefore the intention of the *English* in making Peace, was no other than to gain time to make provision for War; and the *Danes*, though they played a sure Game in taking the *English* Money, had reason to be assured, that their Faith and Honour would not stand in their way, when ever they could hope to gain by breaking the Agreement: This Peace being made, a

Anno
1007.

Y y y y

great

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.
1008.

great Council was convened by King *Ethelred*, to meet at *Engsham* in *Oxfordshire*, where Provision was made, as well for building and setting out a Fleet, as for raising an Army, and a Law established as well for the one as the other; by which every three hundred and ten Hides of Land were obliged to build and set out one Ship (a), and every eight Hides to furnish out a Soldier; and several Laws were made for the Regulation of the Fleet and Army.

And tho' this Council seems to have been occasioned by the Necessities of the State, yet, according to the way of these Ages, many things were here agreed upon, for the regulation and good order of the Affairs of Religion and the Church.

1. The first enjoins the Secular Canons, who were yet in the Monasteries, to eat in the Common-Hall, and live Chastly, and by the Rules of the House, or else to be expelled.

2. But the second, though it Admonishes and Intreats all that are in Holy Orders, especially Priests, to live Chastly, yet prescribes no Punishment for their Disobedience.

9. The ninth confirms the Privileges of Churches, and forbids any Minister to be put out of his Church, without the consent of his Bishop.

10. The tenth directs the time when the several sorts of Tythes ought to be paid; and what relate to the Church are of the same kind, and contain no more than what had been decreed by the preceding Kings.

Anno
1007.

SECT. XI. The Times were too full of disorder and confusion to permit one to expect any great Matters from the Resolves of this Council; but whatever issue the Ecclesiastick Laws had, it appears, that in pursuance of the Resolutions here agreed upon, an Army was raised, and a very considerable Fleet was set out, but yet nothing succeeded in the Reign of King *Ethelred*, but, on the contrary, the Army lying long upon the Coast, impoverished rather than served their Country; and the People gained little else, but the comfort of being undone by their Friends, and partly, by Treachery, and Sloth, and Ill-conduct, the Forces in the Midland wasted and came to nothing; and the Fate of the

the Fleet was no better, for, partly by the treachery and ill-conduct of the Officers, and the Casualties of the Seas, it was so reduced, that it did in no measure answer the charge and expectance of the Nation.

Whilst every thing went thus wrong at home, *Swane*, King of *Denmark* arrived in *England* with a good Army; and now the business of that People was no longer to pillage, but conquer the Kingdom; and such progress did he make, that in the compass of three or four Years the *Danes* possessed themselves of the greatest part of *England*; and continuing the success of their Arms till the Year 1013, the King was forced to send Queen *Emma* to her Brother *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*; and together with her, his two Sons by that Princess, *Edmund* and *Ælfred*, and to retire himself, by the help of his Fleet, to the Isle of *Wight*; and before the end of the Year he was forced to follow them into *Normandy*: During this War *Elphege*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was murdered by the *Danes*. Things being brought to this pass, the greatest part of *England* submitted to *Swane*, King of *Denmark*, and received him for their King.

SECT. XII. But after a short Exile of King *Ethelred*, Providence opened a way to his return; for King *Swane* dying this Year, the Nobility and Clergy recalled their exiled Prince, and hoped that his past Misfortunes might have taught him Wisdom; and that with the help of the *Normans* which he brought over to his Aid, they might once again recover their Country and their Liberty; and they were not deceived altogether in their expectation, for by the help he brought with him, added to his own Forces, he fell upon *Canutus*, the Son and Successor of *Swane* deceased, in *Lincolnshire*, and routed his Army, and forced him to retire to his Ships.

About two Years after *Canutus* returned with a greater Fleet and Army, but GOD delivered King *Ethelred* from the danger, by taking him to himself, for he died the beginning of this Year, leaving behind him the Character of a very weak and slothful Prince. *Edmund* his eldest Son succeeded to the Throne, but found his Affairs extremely perplexed and embroiled; however, he approved himself a very bold and warlike Prince, a Prince of Resolution and Conduct; and after several Battels fought with *Canutus*, King of the *Danes*, forced him

Anno
1011.

Anno
1013.

Anno
1014.

Anno
1016.
King Ethelred
dies.
Edmund Sur-
named Iron-
side succeeds.

him to accept a Peace, but never lived to reap the benefit thereof, for he died the latter end of *November* the Year following.

Anno
1017.
Canutus King.

SECT. XIII. *Canutus*, King of *Denmark*, who by his late Agreement with *Edmund Ironside*, was in possession of a good part of *England*, upon the Death of that Prince, was, by the consent of the Nobility and Bishops, owned as sole King of *England*. *Edmund* left behind him two Sons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, and two Half-Brothers *Edward* and *Ælfred*, who were the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma* his later Wife, as *Edward* was by the former; but *Canutus* being now in possession of the Crown, presently grew jealous of the Princesses; and the better to secure himself, sent *Edmund* and *Edward*, the Sons of *Edmund Ironside*, to the King of *Sweden*, with an Intention, as it is said, to have them made away; but that Prince detesting such an horrible Villany, sent them to *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, where *Edmund*, the elder of them, died; *Edward*, the younger of them, marrying *Agatha*, the Sister of King *Solomon*, had several Children, amongst whom was *Edward*, surnamed *Ætheling*, of whom we shall hear again in his proper place.

Anno
1018.

As for the two Sons of *Ethelred* by Queen *Emma*, Sister to the Duke of *Normandy*, they had been sent to the Court of that Prince some Years before, where they were educated, and lived till time opened a way to the Restoration of this Family in the Person of *Edward*, known by the Name of *Edward the Confessor*. In the mean time, the better to quiet *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy*, who could not but resent the Wrong done to his Nephews, *Canute* presently after his accession to the Crown, made his application to *Emma*, Sister to the Duke, and Wife to the late King *Ethelred*, and Mother to *Edward* and *Ælfred*, and married her before the end of the Year; and to tie the Knot still faster, he made a Match for *Margaret* his Sister, with *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* (a).

(a) J. Meursii
Hist. Danica.
Lib. 3. pag. 54.

(b) Ypodigma
Neustriæ.
Col. Camden.
pag. 432.

Yet if we may rely on the Authority of *Walsingham*, this was so far from diverting the Resentments of the Duke of *Normandy*, that this Author (b) says, that Prince sent his Embassador to *Canute* to demand the Kingdom of *England* in the Right of his Nephews, and that demand not succeeding, he set out a Fleet, with an intention

tention to fall upon *England*, and by force restore his Nephews to their Right; but that Fleet miscarrying in a Tempest, his Design also came to nothing. What Truth there is in this Relation is hard to say, for whatever probability it may have, it is omitted by other Historians, however this Matter passed.

SECT. XIV. *Canute* was crowned King by *Lyving*, *Anno*
Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had succeeded to that 1018.
Chair on the Death of *Elphege*; and in return to the
Service of that Prelate, *Canute* began his Reign with

a Charter granted to him, and the Church (a) and See of *Canterbury*, confirming the Primacy thereof, and exempt-
ing that Church, and the Liberties thereof, from all Se-
cular Services. And about three Years after, if we may
believe the Monks of *St. Edmondsbury*, he also exempted
that House from all Ecclesiastick, as well as Secular Ju-
risdiction, in a great Council held at *Winchester* (b); or
as that Charter pretends, at a Parliament held there.

But besides what is observed by the Learned Collector
of the *English* Councils, that the word *Parliament* was
not yet in use, if known in *England*, there are so many
other Marks of Imposture, that it seems much more
likely, that that Charter was made after the Dispute, set
a-foot by the Monasticks, to exempt themselves from
the Authority of their Bishops, than owing to the fa-
vour of this Prince, to whom it is ascribed; but his
building and repairing of Churches and Monasteries,
and the great Bodies of Laws which pass under the
Name of this Prince, make it evident, that the Affairs
of the Church did not want a just proportion of his
Care, though it is very likely, that this change in the
Government made some additions to the present Cor-
ruptions of the Church of *England*.

For *Canutus* was King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as
well as of *England*, and though some attempts had
been made for the planting the Christian Religion in
those Countries, yet, for the most part, they continued
in their Paganism; and besides the great numbers of
those People, who by a long War had been brought
into *England*, it is highly probable, that *Canutus* making
England the chief place of his Residence, might draw
still greater numbers of those People thither; and al-
though these followed the Example of their King, and

became Christians; yet when it is considered, what that People were, and by whom they were converted, one is very apt to think they were such a sort of Christians as the Northern People, who over-run the Empire, generally were at their first Conversion; and such, it may be, as the *Chineses* now are, who are said to owe their Conversion to the Jesuits; and such as *Bede* observes some of the *English* were at their first Conversion, who were so addicted to their ancient *Pagan* Rites, that they mixed Paganism and Christianity together, and of whom it may more properly be said, that they corrupted the Christian Faith, rather than that they submitted to it.

Anno 1018. SECT. XV. If this was not the state of the new *Danish* Converts, and in some measure of the *English*

(a) *Concil.*
Brit. Tom. 1.
pag. 553.

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Concil.*
Brit. Vol. 1.
pag. 539.

(d) *Bed.*
Eccl. Hist.
Lib. 3. cap. 7.

too, who had intermarried with this People; thus much is evident, that *Canutus* was forced to make a Law against the Sorceries and Enchantments the Northern People were exceedingly addicted to (a); and to forbid the Gentile Idolatry, and in particular the Worship of the Sun, the Moon, the Fire, the Fruits of the Ground, the Waters, or Stones of Fountains, or any kind of Trees or Wood (b): And by another Law he requires, that all should unite in the Worship of the true GOD (c). Such another Law against Idolatry was made by *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, about forty Years after the coming of *Austin* the Monk (d). And Laws, as they give us proof of the Wisdom and Zeal of Nations, give us also the most certain Marks of the prevailing Vices and Errors.

And it may be this reflection on the present state of the *English* and *Danes*, may let us into the true reason why the business of Pilgrimages, and visiting of Shrines, and a wonderful Zeal for Reliques, did again, about this time, begin to revive; for the Pomp and outward shews of Religion seldom make any great Figure, but when the heat is drawn from the Vitals thereof, and the Spirit and Power of Holiness do usually abate in proportion, when the Zeal of the Votary spends it self in great and uncommon measures of shew and ostentation of Religion; for Christianity never shone so bright as in its first natural plainness; and ever looks most unlike it self when it fixes Men upon Instances of Zeal, that its first Author has no where directed us to; and the

Chri-

Christian Worship is ever most agreeable in its primitive Pattern, when its Ceremonies go no further than what is necessary to Decency and Order.

But on whatever grounds a Zeal of this kind is founded, the Zeal of the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Agelnoth*, who succeeded on the Death of *Lyving*, in purchasing and bringing into *England* the Arm of *St. Augustine*, Bishop of *Hippo*, the Year following, and bestowing it as a Gift on the Church of *Coventry*; and the mighty Purchase made by Queen *Emma*, of the Arm of *St. Bartholomew*; the translating of the Reliques of *St. Elphege*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, from *St. Paul's* in *London*, to *Canterbury*, about three Years after; the prodigious Wealth *Canute* laid out in adorning the old Monastery of *Winchester*; the Pilgrimages he made to visit the Tomb of *St. Cuthbert* at *Durham*, to the Churches of *Glassenbury* and *Winchester*; and his building the Monastery of *St. Benedict* at *Holm* in *Norfolk*, have a considerable share in the Ecclesiastick Story of this time; and the Journey of *Canutus* to *Rome* some Years after, is so celebrated amongst some of our Writers, that one cannot read their Stories without Pity and Astonishment.

Anno
1020.

Anno
1023.

CHAP. XXII.

Ab Anno 1027 ad Annum 1066.

SECT. I. **G**oing to Rome under pretence of Devotion becomes fashionable: This Usage in reputation in the Eighth Century: The ill effects thereof. King *Canute* goes to Rome: Complains of the greediness of that Court: Is promised redress, but in vain.

II. *Ælfrick*, Archbishop of *York*, supposed the Author of those Homilies and Canons, ascribed to *Ælfrick* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

III. *Canute* dies: *Harold* succeeds: The English Line put by.

IV. Ha-

IV. Harold attempts to destroy the Princes of the English Line : Ælfred murdered : He endeavours to secure the Interest of the Clergy : Harold dies.

V. Hardi Canute obtains the Kingdom : He dies : The English Line restored in Edward the Confessor : The Danes forced to leave England.

VI. Ambition of Earl Godwin instrumental in restoring the Royal English Line.

VII. England delivered from the Danish Yoke : The change the Revolution produced : King seizes the Treasure of his Mother : Eadsius, Archbishop of Canterbury, quits his station ; and probably forced to it.

VIII. King Edward married Edgith : The Monkish Tale of his Vow of Celibacy : The ill effects thereof.

IX. The King fond of the Normans, brings them into the chief Trusts both in Church and State : Robert, a Norman, Bishop of London : Emma, Mother of the King, charged with Incontinency : Submits to the Ordeal Trial.

X. Normans brought into Bishopricks : Robert, made Archbishop of Canterbury ; William, Bishop of London ; Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester : They carry all before them.

XI. The Norman Faction broken : Godwin recalled : The Norman Bishops forced to leave England : Stigand made Archbishop of Canterbury, in the room of Robert, follows the example of Dunstan, and holds the Bishoprick of Winchester therewith.

XII. William, Bishop of London, recalled and restored : Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester, die in exile : Ulf said to go to the Council of Verecelles to complain.

XIII. English and Norman Factions in the Court both powerful. The King leaves the Succession undetermined.

XIV. Schism and Confusions in the Church, and Court of Rome : Archbishop Stigand said to receive his Pall from Benedict, a Schismatical Pope : Vain pretensions of the Unity of that Church.

XV. Three Bishops of Rome deposed at once : The miserable state of that Church.

XVI. His

XVI. *His receiving a Pall from Benedict not the reason of Archbishop Stigand's Deposition: It is probable he had no Pall, yet acted and was owned as Archbishop by the Church of England.*

XVII. *Though Archbishop Stigand did for many Years despise the Authority of the Bishops of Rome, yet was owned as Primate of England: The Death of Edward the Confessor.*

SECT. I. **T**HE forementioned Usage of running to Rome under the pretence of Devotion, had had a mighty reputation in England in the Eighth Century, and yet was so far from answering the pretended ends, that Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, a zealous asserter of the Honour of the Holy See, took notice of the Scandal and ill effects it produced (a), and wrote to Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, to put a stop to it, by forbidding it; and accordingly this Zeal cooled by degrees, so that from the Reign of Æthelwulf, King of England, who is said to go to Rome about the Year 852, till this Journey of Canutus, about a hundred and seventy five Years after, this kind of Devotion had been so little in fashion amongst the English Princes, that I do not remember any one Instance of this kind of later date than that of Æthelwulf.

(a) Bonifac.
Epist. Con.
Britan. Vol. 1.
pag. 241.

However that be, we are told that this Year King Canutus went to Rome; and, to give all encouragement to such Instances of Devotion, obtained leave of the Princes through whose Kingdoms the English Pilgrims were to pass, that they should be excused from Tolls and Taxes; and that during his stay there he complain'd of the exaction of the Officers of that Court; and that amongst other Favours he obtained of Pope John the Twentieth, that for the time to come the excessive Charges our Archbishops had usually been at in demanding of the Pall, should be moderated (b). What benefit the present Age received from this Grant does not appear; but it is certain, this favour was so far from stretching it self to after Ages, that although the intolerable greediness and oppressions of that Court, were a constant subject of Complaint for several Ages, it is very manifest they were never cured, till the Wisdom

Anno
1031.

(b) Canuti
Epist. Florent.
Wigorn.
An. 1031.

of after times found out a remedy of their own, and by keeping their Archbishops at home, did at once deliver them from the needless hazard and fatigues of a Journey to *Rome* on that occasion, and the Nation from the intolerable Exactions which usually attended it.

But whilst Pilgrimages, and such sort of Devotions lie so much out of the way of that Devotion the Example and Precepts of our Lord have recommended, that they make no impression on any, but Men whose Understandings have a very peculiar make : There are some Acts of Piety, that, like the Manna of the *Israelites*, fall in with every Palate ; amongst which there is an Instance of the Piety of King *Canutus*, that seems to deserve a place ; I mean, the direction he sent from *Rome*, in an Epistle to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, (a) in which he promises them the utmost of his care, to amend whatever was amiss in his past Government ; and for the time to come to conduct himself by the strictest Rules of Equity, and requires their care, that Justice may have its due course, that the Poor may not be oppressed, nor the Rich favoured beyond what is just, nor the Church defrauded of its just Rights : These are such bright and shining Instances of the Piety of a Prince, as can never want an esteem and veneration amongst Men, whilst they are able to distinguish that which does them good, from that which hurts them ; and notwithstanding that his Reign was not free from blemish, nor his Person from Failings, yet the course of his Government was such, that *Canutus* has hitherto preserved the Character of a good Prince.

Anno
1034.
(b) Wharton
Dissertat. Ang.
Sac. Part 1.
pag. 125.

SECT. II. And if the Learned Author (b) of the Dissertation of the two *Ælfricks* be right in his conjecture, he will in a particular manner deserve a place in the Annals of the Church ; for it is certain, that it was under his Reign that *Ælfrick*, Archbishop of *York*, was raised to that Station ; for *Wulstan*, the former Archbishop of that See, died about the Year 1028, and *Ælfrick Putta*, or *Puttoc*, succeeded the same Year ; and if he was the composer of that Body of Homilies, known by the Name of the Book of Catholick Sermons, and of those Epistles and Canons which pass under *Ælfrick's* Name, it would make a great Addition to Ecclesiastick Story under the Reign of this Prince.

For

For the great share that the *English* Kings had hitherto had in the Affairs of the Church, leaves one no ground to doubt, that Transactions of this kind could not pass in this Reign, without giving this Prince a part in the Honour those Works have deserved; and indeed the settled state of Affairs under this Prince, seems to be so much fitter for Works of that kind, than the disturbed and broken Reign of King *Ethelred*; and the Reasons of the 'foresaid Learned Antiquary have so much weight, that if the unanimous consent of preceding Times had not determined in favour of *Ælfrick*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and so interwoven this Affair into the Story of his Time, that they could not easily be separated, it may be what is said before under the Reign of *Ethelred*, might more properly have taken its place under the Reign of *Canutus*.

Nor am I willing to lessen the Honour of *Canutus*, with giving credit to that Story, as others have done before me, which seems no way to the advantage of that Prince, unless it be in reproaching the Flatteries of those about him: the Story I mean of his setting himself on the Sea-shore, whilst the Tide was coming in, and commanding the Waves to fall back, but the deaf Element paying no regard to the Command of the King, bore in upon him, and having soundly wetted his Feet and Royal Robes, forced him to retire; this, say the same Writers, not only gave occasion to that Prince, to reflect on the Flatteries of those who had too much magnified his Power, but also so thoroughly mortified his Vanity, that after some Reflections on the impotence of Princes, he sent his Crown to be hanged up on the Image of our Saviour, fixed on a Cross in *Winchester*. This Story has so much of the Legendary turn, that one would choose to believe, that the first part of it was made for the sake of the latter, and that both were Inventions, rather than fix the reproach of so impertinent a Tale on this Prince.

And yet *H. Huntington* reckoning the extraordinary things of this Prince's Reign, mentions only these three; first the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor *Conrade*; the second is his going to *Rome*, and bringing thence a part of the Wood of the Cross; and the third is this Story of the Sea; and indeed these two latter seem

to

to be so much of a piece, that it is great pity they should be separated.

Anno
1035. S E C T. III. The Burthens the *English* Nation suffered in the beginning of this Reign were very heavy; but the charge to the Fleet and Army of *Canutus* (which occasioned it) being over, they were treated with the tenderness of Subjects; and being freed from the Ravages they had for many Years endured, they sat down quietly under the Government of this Prince; and notwithstanding the Hardships which hereby fell upon the Royal Line, they continued peaceable under the Government of *Canutus*, till the end of his Reign; and indeed it was no wonder, for their Peace was bound up in his Life, and the best Views they had beyond it were very melancholy and disconsolate, and gave them Reasons to dread the Miseries of an Intestine War.

King Canutus dies.
Anno 1036.

However, it pleased GOD about this time to take King *Canutus* to himself, who, after a Reign of near twenty Years, died at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Winchester*; and now the Nation presently falls into that Confusion it had just reason before to expect; for the Pretenders to the Crown were very many, and the Factions answerable to the numbers of the Pretenders; for at this time *Edward* and *Edmund*, two Sons of King *Edmund*, Surnamed *Ironside*, were yet in Being, and *Alfred* and *Edward*, Sons of King *Ethelred*, by *Emma* his second Wife, were in the Court of the Duke of *Normandy*; besides these, there were other Pretenders to the Kingdom descended from *Canutus*; *Harold* was his Son, as some say, by a former Wife, or as others say, by a Concubine; and *Hardi Canute* by *Emma* his second Wife; and these several Lines had their several Factions.

Harold succeeds.
Anno 1036.

Harold had this peculiar advantage, that all his Competitors were out of the Kingdom when *Canutus* died; the Sons of *Edmund* in *Hungary*; the Sons of *Ethelred* by *Emma*, in *Normandy*; *Hardi Canute*, the Son of *Canutus* by *Emma*, in *Denmark*, whilst *Harold* alone was at the head of his Party, and he being a bold and resolute Prince, without long waiting for decision of this Dispute, seized upon the Crown; and as he omitted no Address to bring the Nobility and Clergy over to his Interest, so he never stuck at any thing that he thought neces-

necessary to secure it, and deliver himself from the danger of those Rivals which he thought most likely to give him trouble; *Hardi Canute* his greatest Competitor was at a distance, and which is more, had not so great a share in the Affections of the People, whose Inclinations were chiefly to the *English* Line; and as this gave the greatest Umbrage to *Harold*, so he chiefly applied himself to prevent the dangers which might arise from thence; and therefore no sooner was he got in possession of the Crown, but he presently seized the Treasure of the Queen Dowager *Emma*, and had a jealous Eye upon her till he banished her out of the Kingdom the Year following.

SECT. IV. But it was her Sons by *Ethelred* that were the chief Objects of his Fear, and for that reason of his Hatred; and therefore before he banished their Mother, some of our Historians say, that he caused a Letter to be wrote in her Name, and sent it by a Messenger into *Normandy*, to invite over the young Princes *Ælfred* and *Edward*, and give them hopes of a considerable Party, which at their first Landing would presently appear for them; and that by this Artifice he got *Ælfred* into his hands, and having murdered his Followers and put out his Eyes, he sent him to the Monastery of *Ely* to be secured, where he not long after died; but though this be said with great assurance, by some of our Historians, one would not be forward to believe it; for the *Norman* Historians say, those two young Princes waited for the Death of *Canutus*, and having a Fleet ready quickly after set Sail for *England*; where *Ælfred* being betrayed by *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, was drawn into the Midland parts of *England*, and together with his Followers used as is above related; but *Edward* finding great opposition at his first Landing, was soon made sensible that his Party in *England* was not so considerable as he expected; and therefore retired to *Normandy* again to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which GOD at last vouchsafed unto him; but though *Harold* maintained his Post, yet he could never deliver himself from the disquiet and perpetual Jealousies which attend a broken and distracted State, and may more properly be said to have worn out, rather than to have reigned three or four Years.

Anno
1037.

B b b b b

And

Anno
1038. And this perpetual ferment in the State so took off his Thoughts from the Affairs of the Church, that we are not to wonder if he left no Ecclesiastical Law, nor any footsteps of any Council held on the score of Religion; indeed, if there be ground for what is said by *Harpsfield*, (a) of *Ægelnoth* Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s refusing to Crown this King; or what is said by *Mr. Cressy*, of the ill terms on which he stood with the Clergy, we shall have another reason for his Conduct, besides what is said from the unsettled Affairs of the Nation; but if that had been the true reason of his Conduct, Providence put it into his Power to make the Clergy surer to his Interest.

(a) *Histor. Eccles. Anglic. Sæcul. 110. pag. 232.*

For in the compass of this Year no less than the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and three other Bishopricks, fell into his hands; for in this Year the *Saxon Chronicle* fixes the Death of *Ægelnoth* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Æthelrick* Bishop of *Seolsey*, *Ælfrick* Bishop of *Helmham*, and *Brighteg* Bishop of *Worcester*: the See of *Canterbury* was filled by the Translation of *Eadsius* Bishop of *Winchester*, and that was supplied by *Alwin*; *Helmham* by *Stigand*, afterward Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *Seolsey*, by *Grincketel*; *Worcester*, by *Lyving*. All Men sure to the Interest of *Harold*, and yet, for ought appears to the contrary, every thing continued upon the same foot, till the Death of that Prince, who died the Year following.

Anno
1039.
King Harold dies.

King Hardi Canute succeeds, 1039.

SECT. V. And now, notwithstanding what *Harpsfield* has observed of the mighty Zeal of the Clergy for the *English* Line, no regard was had to *Edward*, Surnamed *the Confessor*, the only remaining Son of *Ethelred*, late King of *England*; but upon the Death of *Harold*, the Great Men applied themselves to *Hardi Canute* whose Father *Canutus* was a *Dane*, as his Mother *Emma* was a *Norman*, and without any opposition he was received as King of *England* this Year: And it is not unlikely by the suddenness of his coming, and the force he brought along with him, that when he was called thus peaceably to the Crown, he was prepared to assert his Right in another manner.

Thus much is evident, that his Mother *Emma* did very much resent her Banishment, and much more the Baseness and Treachery which ended in the Murder of her

her Son *Ælfred*, and used her Interest to raise the like Resentment in her Son *Hardi Canute*, King of *Denmark*, so effectually, that he raised an Army, and had provided a Fleet ready to fall upon *Harold*, King of *England*, (a) and was himself with a part of his Fleet at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, when he received the news of King *Harold's* Death (b); and as this occasioned the *English*, whose Inclinations lay another way, to agree so generally in the choice of this Prince, who, it may be, would have made himself their King, if they had not thought fit to prevent him; so it is most probable, that this occasioned that heavy burthen for the payment of the Fleet, which the *Saxon Chronicle* places within the compass of the following Year; for that payment amounting in the whole to above forty one thousand Pounds, could not, as I think, be the ordinary Tax, known by the Name of the *Danegeld*.

(a) *Emmæ
Encomium
Scriptor.
Norman.
pag. 176.*

(b) *Ibid.*

Anno
1040.

But whatever occasioned the *English* to agree in a choice, in all appearance so prejudicial to the Rights of the *English* Line, GOD thought fit, when it was least expected, to restore it; for this Prince indulging himself in a course of Intemperance, met his Death in the midst of an Entertainment, and died suddenly at *Lambeth* this Year, at a Wedding-Dinner prepared for his reception.

Anno
1041.

*Hardi Canute
dies 1041.*

The suddenness of the King's Death makes it probable, that there is a Mistake in the *Danish* Story (c) which says, that by his Will *Hardi Canute* gave the Kingdom of *England* to *Swane*. He was Son to *Margaret*, Sister to *Canutus* the Great, as the *Danish* Historians call him, and was probably the next Heir to *Hardi Canute*, and in that Right claimed, as well the Kingdom of *England*, as that of *Denmark*: Besides, he had been General of the *Danish* Forces in *England* under *Hardi Canute*; and being present in *England* at the Death of that Prince, did, if the *Danish* Historian be not mistaken, possess himself of that Kingdom.

(c) *Meursii
Hist. Danic.
Lib. 3. p. 53.*

King Swane.

But *Magnus*, King of *Norway*, having put in his Claim to the Kingdom of *Denmark*, presently followed his pretence with an Army (d); and this forced *Swane* immediately to leave *England* and hasten away to *Denmark*: Upon his going thither he left the Command of his Army in the hands of *Harold*, Son to Earl *Godwin*, if this

(d) *Meursii
Hist. Danica
Lib. 3. p. 57.*

Ac-

(a) Malmsb.
de Gest. Reg.
Ang. Lib. 2.
fol. 45.

Account of *Meursius*, which has great probability in it, may be relied upon. What *Malmsbury* says (a) of Prince *Edward's* coming to Earl *Godwin*, and falling at his Feet, begging that he would spare his Life, and assist him in conveying him safe to *Normandy*; and all the Difficulties which that Writer saith attended the Accession of Prince *Edward* to the Crown; the Services done him by *Godwin* and his Son, the expulsion of the *Danes*, and restoration of the *English* Line will be accounted for; whereas our Historians, who take no notice of this Affair of *Swane*, and speak of the Accession of *Edward the Confessor* to the Crown, as if it had immediately insued the Death of *Hardi Canute*; and as if there had been no difficulty therein, leave us intirely at a loss how it came to pass that the *English* Line was restored, and the *Danes* after so long a possession, forced to leave *England*; but leaving things in the posture the *Danish* History has set them, it is time to return, and observe the Steps by which the *English* Line was restored in the Person of *Edward the Confessor*.

Anno
1041.

SECT. VI. The Pretensions of the Royal Line of *England* lay betwixt *Edward the Exile*, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, and *Edward*, surnamed *the Confessor*, who was Son to King *Ethelred* by *Emma*, his second Wife, as *Edmund Ironside* was by the former, so that the Title was in *Edward the Exile*, as the Son of the elder Brother; but whatever advantage that Prince had from his Birth, was over-ballanced by the Temper of the other *Edward*, and his Prefence in *England*, whilst his Rival was in *Hungary*.

The Ambition of *Godwin* and his Son *Harold* had no Bounds on this side the Throne, but the Times would not bear an attempt on the *Danish* and *English* Line together; there was therefore no remedy but they must cover their Designs for a while, under the pretence of asserting the Right of the *English* Line, and *Edward the Confessor* was an easy good-natur'd Prince, and by his Temper so well prepared to serve the Ends of those about him, that it was very reasonable for *Godwin* and his Son to promise themselves the Royal Power, under his Title and Government; and, in time, the Title they aspired to; and therefore they entred into a secret Agreement with that Prince, that in case they could bring him

him to the Crown, he should marry *Edgith*, the Daughter of *Godwin*, and confer such Trusts and Honours upon his Son *Harold* as might answer their Services and Expectations.

Things being thus concerted, *Harold*, who had the Command of the Army, so dispersed it up and down the Kingdom, as made it easy to render it useless, and put it out of a capacity to draw together in a body, to break the Designs which he and his Father had formed. And if the *Danish* Historian (a) say true, under pretence of entertaining them, caused them all to be slain in one Night, and thereby brought *England* under his Power. Our Historians, though they make no mention of this Affair, agree with *Meursius*, that the *Danes* were about this time driven out of *England*, and never more recovered their Interest therein, but do not pretend to tell us how this was accomplished.

(a) Meursii
Hist. Dan.
Lib. 3. p. 57.

SECT. VII. But however this was brought about, it is agreed on all hands, that *England* was about this time delivered from the *Danish* Yoke, and with great Joy received a Prince of the *English* Line. *Edward* being advanced to the Throne was crowned at *Winchester* the Year following by *Eadwig*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the consequence of this change was such as might be expected from such a sudden turn of Affairs; and, as usual in such cases the Ministers served their Passions and Revenge, under the colour of their Masters Service, and their Resentments, or their particular Friendships and Interests were made the Measures to the Favours or Displeasure of the Government. Those who came not into their Interest were called *disaffected*, and as favourers of the *Danish* Interest, were displaced, and others brought in their room. Queen *Emma*, Mother to King *Edward*, had voluntarily yielded her self to the Embraces of King *Canutus*, who had dethroned her Husband, the Father of the King, dispossessed the *English*, and began the *Danish* Race of Kings; besides, as she had been Mother to *Hardi Canute*, and doubtless had favoured his Succession to the Crown, whilst this Prince, and his Brother *Ælfred*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*, lived as a sort of Exiles, and seem to have had a very little share, either in her Affections or in her Care.

King Edward
the Confessor
Anno 1041.

Anno
1042.

But it is evident, that this her Conduct did not occasion an open breach of Friendship, nor hinder the Prince from waiting upon her in her Exile, under the Reign of *Harold*; and as she was present in *England* when *Hardi Canute* died, having now no other Issue remaining, did doubtless favour the Succession of *Edward* to the Throne; but whether this did not wipe out the resentment of her former unkindness? or whether his Ministers were jealous that his Mother might have too great an ascendant over him, if they did not carry him to such Extremities as might make the Breach too wide ever to be made up again? or whether the Figure she had made in the last Reign, made her suspected in this? or whether she really favoured the *Danish* Interest, is not possible to determine; but it is certain, that this Princess was one of the first that suffered under this Revolution.

Anno
1043.

For one of the first things that King *Edward* did, after his Coronation, was to seize upon the Treasure of his Mother, and confine her to *Winchester*; and it is not unlikely, that the same Reasons which produced such changes in the state, occasioned some in the Church; for it appears that *Eadsius*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, retired from that Station, and if he kept his Title, the Administration of the Archbishoprick was put into the hands of *Symard*, Abbot of *Abingdon*, who was for that end consecrated Bishop. This is said to have been occasioned by the Indisposition of that Prelate; but when it is considered that *Eadsius* lived six or seven Years, after this pretended incurable Indisposition seized upon him, that he had been Chaplain to King *Harold*, and was so ill provided for during his Retirement, that he complained for want of a sufficient Maintenance; and that upon the Death of his Coadjutor *Symard*, in the Year 1046 *Eadfig*, reassumed his Trust (a). One would not be forward to believe that his Retirement had nothing of force in it; but, on the contrary, it seems highly probable, that his engaging in the *Danish* Interest, during the last Reign, was the true reason of the Hardships which fell upon him in this.

(a) Chron.
Saxon. An.
1046.

Anno
1043.

SECT. VIII. However things passed in this sudden turn of Affairs, the ferment being pretty well over, and the Nation brought to some sort of Settlement, the

the King made good his Promise to Earl *Godwin*, and this Year married his Daughter *Edgitha*, and in his Marriage complied with the Advice and Desires of his People, who, from what they had before suffered, could not but foresee the Mischiefs which might ensue, if this Prince should die without Issue; and therefore passionately desired to see a young Prince of the *English* Line, and for that end desired the King that he would be pleased to marry, which he did accordingly. And these considerations, one would think, should have had the same weight with that Prince himself; but if any credit may be given to some of our Histories, this Prince had before engaged himself by a Vow of Celibacy, and did not only not consummate his Marriage, but perswaded his Queen *Edgitha* to follow his Example, and put herself under Vows of the same kind.

Thus, if we may rely on the Authority of our Monkish Historians, this Prince did designedly prevent the ends for which the Nation desired his Marriage, and chose rather to expose his People as a Prey to a Foreign Power, than to break a Vow which was made rashly and ended in Mischief; so that when one looks a little forward, and sees the *English* Nation ruined for want of this Prince's Issue, and made a Prey to the *Normans*, one cannot but stand amazed to observe how some Men magnifie the Conduct of a Prince which visibly tended, and did actually end in the ruine of his Family and Kingdom.

And such extravagancies do the circumstances of some Men lead their Judgment to, that although there is no good Casuist ever allowed the obligation of a private Vow against any one Command of GOD, or thought it sufficient to warrant the least Act of Injustice to Men, there have been Men who to raise an esteem of themselves and their own way of living, so magnify the unhappy Conduct of this Prince, as if it was an Instance of the highest and most celebrated Piety in the World.

But, after all, it seems much more reasonable to think, that his want of Issue was the Act of Providence, rather than the Fault of the Prince; and that this Story had the same beginning with those many wild and senseless Fictions with which the *English* Legends every where abound.

abound. But though this may be said to cover the Honour of this Prince, his ill treatment of his Queen is scarce capable of an excuse; for it is certain, that the King, after some time, put her away from him: And if the other part of the Story be true, that she continued in a State of Virgin Chastity, it is hard to say what Apology can be made for him, that will consist with a just sense of that Religion, which allows of no Divorce but in case of Adultery. But to return.

Anno
1044.

SECT. IX. Though the King was so far just to his Agreement with Earl *Godwin* as to marry his Daughter, it is very evident he quickly became very uneasy under the Insolence of that haughty Minister, who, besides his natural haughtiness, thought his Services too big to be sufficiently rewarded; and this redoubled that pushing and over-bearing Temper, which Princes never easily submit to, and seldom bear long; so that although this was a Prince of a soft and easy Temper, yet he soon discovered a great uneasiness, which grew in time to coldness, and at last to an open breach betwixt them; to which there was another thing which very much contributed; for *Godwin* having, by his Services to the King, lost his *Danish* Interest, his great care was now to make an Interest amongst the *English*, and to set up for a Patriot of the Nation, by a seeming Zeal for the Interests of the Natives; and this threw him cross the Temper and Inclinations of the King; for that Prince having lived long in *Normandy*, and being much obliged to that People, whilst he was in a manner given up, at least neglected by his own Country, he returned to *England* with such Affections to the *Normans*, as long continuance in a Country, and a sense of Gratitude are apt to inspire Men with.

And as this occasioned the introducing the Language and Customs of the *Normans* into his Court, so it exceedingly inclined the King to favour the Pretensions of the Followers which he brought from *Normandy*, amongst whom *Robert Gemiticensis*, a *Norman* Monk, had a more particular share in the Favours of the King. This Monk had for some time made a Figure in the Court, at the head of the *Norman* Faction, and in a little time was raised to the highest station in the Church; and, in order thereunto, he was this Year made Bishop of *London*,
on

on the Death of his Predecessor *Alward*; and being Bishop of *London*, his Character gave new assurance and reputation to that Prelate, and a better Grace to the Favours he had before enjoyed; and in time he supplanted *Godwin* and *Harold*, and became chief Minister of State, and every thing passed through his hands.

And to let the World see how absolutely he ruled in the Affections of the King, he treated Queen *Emma*, the Mother of that Prince, with the utmost degrees of Insolence and Contempt, and gave such encouragement to a Report that was spread of her Lewd Conversation with *Alwin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, that by his Importunity, against the Advice of the rest of the Bishops, that Princess was permitted to vindicate her self from the Reproach, by undergoing the Ordeal Trial, which was walking blindfold and bare-foot over nine red hot Plow-shares; which being performed by that Princess, in the presence of a great Assembly, and without receiving any hurt, the King repented his Credulity, and asked her Pardon. And this Matter ended no way to the Honour of that Prelate, who first advised it.

SECT. X. But though this Advice was laid up for the Day of Wrath, and was remembered when he who gave it desired it should be forgotten, yet for the present the Bishop of *London* not only stood his ground, but carried all before him; and his own Interests falling in with the Inclinations of the King, he made it his care to fill the Church with Foreigners; and therefore *Brightwald*, Bishop of *Sherborn*, dying this Year, *Herman*, a *Fleming*, or *Lorainer*, was put into his Chair; and the Year following *Lyving*, who some time before had united the Sees of *St. Germans* and *Credington*, and held both, together with *Worcester*, dying about this time, *Leofrick*, a *Burgundian*, succeeded in the See of *Kirton*, or *Credington* in *Devonshire*; and whatever Joy *Alwin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, might conceive, by the part he had in Queen *Emma*'s Vindication, he lived but a little while after, but dying about this time, *Stigand*, who had been Bishop of *Helmham*, succeeded him in the See of *Winchester*; and though he was an *English-man* by Birth, and did afterwards espouse the Party of *Godwin*, yet it is not improbable he owed his present Translation to the Bishop of *London*.

Anno
1045.

Anno
1046.

Anno
1047.

Anno
1050.

If the event had not put it beyond a doubt, the nature of the thing would lead one to believe, that this Favourite did not stand so sure, but he met with many shocks in the course of his Ministry ; however, he bore through every difficulty which stood in the way of his good Fortune, till he had broke that Party which was headed by Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons, and forced them to leave *England*, and seek their Security abroad ; and the Queen her self did not escape the Misfortune which fell upon her Family ; for to shew his Resentment against her Father, the King was prevail'd upon to put away the Queen his Daughter, and having stripped her of her Jewels, sent her to a Monastery ; and as *Robert* thus broke the Interest of his Enemies, so he raised himself to the See of *Canterbury* ; for *Eadsius* dying this Year, *Robert* was translated to *Canterbury*.

Being raised to that Dignity the latter end of this Year, he went away to *Rome* to demand his Pall, and returning the Year following, he found *Sparhafoc*, Abbot of *Abingdon*, named by the King to succeed him in the See of *London*, who coming to him to desire his Consecration, the Archbishop pretended that the Bishop of *Rome* had forbid it, and with that pretence delayed his Consecration, till he found time at the meeting of the great Council in *September* 1051, (a) to prevail on the King to recal his nomination, and nominate *William*, a *Norman*, in his stead ; and the same reasons to which these Prelates owed their advancement, raised *Ulf*, another *Norman*, to the See of *Dorchester*.

(a) H. Whart.
de Epif. Lond.
pag. 40.

But such is the uncertainty of human Affairs, that Court-Parties are commonly in most danger when they think they stand safest ; and the same Reasons that found their Security, do usually destroy it ; for if they do succeed in putting the Places of Trust into such hands as they can confide in, it is seldom they raise one of their Friends, but at the same time they disappoint two ; and thus they double their Enemies by every one they add to the number of their Friends ; and which is more, in carrying all before them, they add cement, and give a new fermentation to the Envy and Indignation of the opposite Party, and engage the Pity and good Wishes of the by-standers on the side of the oppressed.

Besides, Resentment is the Soul by which Faction is animated, therefore oppressed Parties are usually strongest when heated most; and for the same reason, the Favourite Party is ever in most danger when its Insolence is most insupportable: And if this was not the reason of the sudden turn of Affairs, it is very evident by the sudden fall of the *Norman* Faction, that this was their case, they fell of a sudden, and the Party was ruined, when most confident of its own strength and security.

SECT. XI. For though Earl *Godwin* and his Sons were now in Banishment, yet they found so many Friends abroad, that they returned to *England* with a considerable strength, both in Ships and Men, and not only made a Pyratick War, to the mighty damage and terror of all the Sea-coast; but about this Year they came up as far as *London* with their Vessels and Land-Force, where they found so many Friends, that they were reconciled to the King; and a Promise was made to restore them and their Followers to their Estates and Commands: Nor did this turn of Affairs stop here, but was followed with the violence which usually attends the first efforts of a prevailing Party; for now the case of *Godwin* was made a National Quarrel, and the *English* were so exasperated at the ill Conduct of the *Norman* Favourites, that if their Punishment was not determined in the great Council which met on this occasion, it is certain, that such was the heat and fury of the prevailing Party, that the other side was obliged immediately to give way, and leaving *London*, were forced to fly to seek their Security abroad, and those who but a Month before had made the greatest Figure in the Court, now led the rest of their Friends into Banishment.

In particular, this was the case of *Robert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *William*, Bishop of *London*, and *Ulf*, Bishop of *Dorchester*, who fled together into *Normandy* this Year; the Archbishop went away to *Rome*, probably, in hopes that by the Intercession of Pope *Leo* the Ninth, he might be restored to his Bishoprick again; but whatever hopes led him thither, it does not appear, that any step was ever made towards his restoration; but, on the contrary, returning from *Rome*, to the Monastery of *Jumiege* in *Normandy*, he died there, not long after his Banish-

Anno
1052.

Anno
1052.

(a) Chron.
Saxon.
An. 1052.

Banishment ; but whatever his Expectations were, the King of *England* did not think himself obliged to wait the issue, or expect a resignation or deposition, but, without any delay, did, the same Year that *Robert* left *England*, fill up his Chair ; and *Stigand*, Bishop of *Winchester*, having approved himself very active in making up the Breach betwixt the King and his *English* Subjects, (a) was, and probably for that reason, advanced to the See of *Canterbury* ; but such was the greedy and unworthy Temper of that Prelate, that he, notwithstanding his Archbishoprick, still retained that of *Winchester*, for which he is very justly blamed by those Writers, who never thought fit to reproach the like irregular practice of *Dunstan*, one of his Predecessors.

Anno
1052.

SECT. XII. As for *William*, another of the Exiles, he had the Character of a good Man, and one who had had little share in the ill Councils charged upon the Archbishop and the *Norman* Faction ; and therefore he was recalled again, and not only lived to see the *Norman* Conquest, but to make use of his relation to that People to do many good Offices for the City of *London*, and, in particular, in procuring them the Charter which laid the foundation of those great Privileges that City enjoys to this Day ; and they have been just to his Memory, in paying that Honour to it which he very well deserved.

As for *Ulf*, the Bishop of *Dorchester*, it is said, that after his Banishment he went to the Council of *Vercelles*, to complain to the Pope, where he discovered so much Ignorance, that he was in danger of being degraded from his Episcopal Office, but that his Money atoned for his Ignorance and made his Peace. This Story has some inconsistency in it self, as it is related by the *Saxon Chronicle*, which places the advancement of that Prelate to the See of *Dorchester*, in the Year 1046 ; but for the most part our Historians fix the Death of *Eadnoth*, his Predecessor in the See of *Dorchester*, in the Year 1050, and the advancement of *Ulf* in the same Year ; and the Council of *Vercelles* was held the same Year, which was two Years before his Banishment.

Anno
1053.

As for Earl *Godwin*, who had occasioned this turn of Affairs, he lived but a little while to reap the benefit of it, but dying the following Year he was buried in *Winchester*.

chester. It appearing by this time that there was little hopes of Issue from the King, and his Affairs being brought to some sort of Settlement, he now began to cast his Thoughts upon the Succession; and it is very likely, that his Eyes were fixed on the *English* Line; and therefore, about this time, he sent *Alfred*, Bishop of *Worcester*, his Embassador to the Emperor, *Henry* the Second, (a) to desire that he would, by his Embassador with the King of *Hungary*, obtain leave for *Edward*, Son to *Edmund Ironside*, to leave *Hungary* and come over into *England*, which was accordingly done.

(a) Chron.
Brompton.
X. Scriptor.
Col. 945.

But that Prince survived his return but a little while, and dying about the Year 1057, was buried in *St. Paul's Church* in *London*. He left several Children behind him, who were very little considered, when the Right of Succession came into debate upon the Death of their Uncle; however, his return had this good effect, it gave opportunity for the Marriage of *Margaret*, (Sister to *Edgar Etheling*, and Daughter to *Edward*, Surnamed *the Outlaw*) to *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*; and thereby to the restoration of the Royal *English* Line, by a Marriage of *Maud*, a descendant from that Princess with *Henry* the First.

SECT. XIII. But whatever the Inclinations of King *Edward* were, though he could not but see whither the popularity of *Harold* tended, it does not appear that he did any thing to prevent it, or to put *Edgar Etheling* his Nephew, in a capacity to assert his own Right; and indeed it seems very likely that he was over-awed, and suffered his Authority to be insulted by every Faction, and supported himself by over-looking, and sometimes by giving way to the powerful Factions, rather than by making use of his Authority to keep them in their due bounds; and therefore the Factions begun in his Reign never ended till they were decided by the Sword in the next.

For the event shews, that although *Robert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and those of that Party who had possessed themselves of the Ministry, were driven out of *England*; yet the *Norman* Faction did not determine in their Banishment, but the Bias on the Affections of the King, which lay on that side, falling in with the Intrigues of *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, still kept up the Interest

of that Party ; and it is most likely, that the visit made to the King, by *William Duke of Normandy*, about three Years before this, was grounded on the same Views which in time appeared, though not fit for discovery, whilst the Affections of the unbiaſſed *English* preſſed for the calling home the ſurviving Branches of the *English* Line.

Anno 1057. And it is not unlikely, that this conſideration ſealed up the Thoughts of the Duke ; and if it did not determine the King on the *English* ſide, it did at leaſt keep him wavering and in ſuſpence ; but *Edward the Outlaw* dying this Year, and leaving no Son but *Edgar Etheling*, a Prince, who, beſides his want of Conduct and Addreſs, had ſo many diſadvantages from his Birth and Education, that notwithstanding his Title to the Crown, which uſually ſupplies abundance of defects, and never wants ſome Friends, yet he never made any conſiderable Figure in *England* ; but, on the contrary, appeared unlikely to ſtand the ſhock of that popular Inter-eſt which ſupported the hopes and deſigns of *Harold*.

Theſe conſiderations added to the Affections the King bore to the *Normans*, if they did not determine the King in favour of the Succeſſion of *William, Duke of Normandy* ; yet at leaſt they kept him from determining on the other ſide, and made him leave the ſeveral Parties to judge of his Mind, by ſome dark and uncertain Expreſſions. And if one obſerves the aſſurance with which ſome challenge the Succeſſion to *Harold*, Brother to his Queen ; others to *Edgar Etheling*, Nephew to the King ; others to *William, Duke of Normandy*, his Cozen, one can ſcarce think otherwiſe of this Affair of Succeſſion, than as left at large and undetermined by the King.

Anno 1058. SECT. XIV. Nor were Factions the peculiar Miſfortune of the *English* Nation, but that Church which has vanity enough to boaſt of her Unity, and give it out as the diſtinguiſhing Mark of the true Church, was at this time ſo divided and diſtracted, that if thoſe who have had the ill luck to apply this Mark of Unity to the Church of *Rome*, had happened to live at this time, Unity would doubtleſs have been the laſt thing they had pretended to, unleſs by Unity they mean ſomething that is conſiſtent with the moſt notorious and ſcandalous Schiſm ;

Schism; for the Church of *Rome* was now embroiled in the two and twentieth Schism, which is more than any other National Church, and it may be more than all Christendom besides is chargeable with.

And notwithstanding the great easiness which some Men pretend to in finding out the true Church, which, according to modern Notions, is a Work that cannot be done, without uniting to the Canonical Bishop of *Rome*; yet *Stigand*, at this time Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Prelate which though he had his Faults, and has been ill treated by some Writers, yet is one who on all hands is allowed to be a Man of Business and Conduct, and one who, from the *Saxon Chronicle*, has the Character of a wise Man (a), had yet the misfortune to be mistaken in this particular, and received his Pall from *Benedict*, who is since said to be an usurper of the Papacy, if our Historians are not mistaken.

Baronius (b), and Mr. *Cressy* place this Affair in the compass of this Year; and, as some other Writers had done before, speak of this as an unpardonable Fault, and as the ground upon which some justify the Deposition of this Prelate under the *Norman* Government; but the reason of the ill Usage that Prelate afterwards met with, will be considered in its proper place: In the mean time, to set the Conduct of that Prelate in its true light, it will be necessary to say there were two Popes by the Name of *Benedict* in the compass of that Prelate's Time, one chosen this Year, on the Death of *Stephen*, the other chosen about the Year 1034. The former of these Popes is that *Benedict* from whom, as *Baronius* and Mr. *Cressy* say, Archbishop *Stigand* received his Pall: How well this will consist with *Baronius's* Account, it will be fit to consider.

For, according to his Account, Pope *Stephen* the Tenth, died the twenty ninth of *March*, the Year 1058. Not long after his Death, *John*, Bishop of *Velitri*, who took the Name of *Benedict*, was chosen in his room, and was deposed the *January* next ensuing; so that unless *Stigand* was more than ordinary happy in his Intelligence and Dispatch, it was impossible to receive his Pall from this Pope *Benedict*, the Tenth of that Name; besides, this was six Years after *Stigand* came to the See of *Canterbury*; during which time, his

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Authority, as Metropolitan, was owned by the Church of *England*; so that whatever those Writers get by fastening upon *Stigand* the receiving of his Pall this Year, they will lose in another pretence, by owning he acted six Years without it.

SECT. XV. But though *Baronius* and Mr. *Cressley*, as judging it most to their purpose, think fit to say, that *Stigand* had his Pall from the later *Benedict*, and this on the Authority of *Malmsbury*; yet it is very plain, that *Malmsbury* does not ascertain the Year, nor determine whether it was *Benedict* the Ninth or Tenth from whom he received it: And if the *Saxon Chronicle* fixes it in this Year, and consequently determines in favour of the latter, yet the circumstances of Time seem much better accounted for, by ascribing this Affair to *Benedict* the Ninth: This *Benedict* was Nephew to Pope *John* the Twentieth, who dying in the Year 1033, this *Benedict*, though a Boy of about ten or twelve Years of Age, was, by the Interest of his Father *Alberic*, Count of *Tuscany*, chosen Pope; and notwithstanding this circumstance of his Age, was, as *Baronius* saith, without any dispute, owned as Bishop of *Rome*, by the whole Christian World (a): And although he proved one of the lewdest and most profligate Miscreants in the World, yet he continued undisturb'd in the Papal Chair, for near eleven Years, and, during that time, discharged all the Functions incumbent on a Bishop of *Rome*; (b) and as *Baronius* in particular observes, granted several Palls to several Archbishops (c).

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
1033. N. 7.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Ibid.

And, which is more surprizing, the 'foresaid Writer observes it as a Mark of a more particular Providence, that notwithstanding the notorious wickedness of this Prelate, the Church of *Rome* lost no part of the veneration which had been usually paid to it. How well this observation will accord with the frequent Reflections of that Writer, on the Miseries that Church suffered from the wickedness of its Bishops, will not deserve inquiry; but if that Church still remained invulnerable, notwithstanding the Indignity and Contempt offered to those who presided over it, those Men ought not to despair, who assert the Unity of that Church, notwithstanding the Schisms which so frequently divided it, and which lie so very cross to that pretence.

But

But the Canonists who fall in with the *Hildebrandine* Doctrine, and whilst they make the *Roman* Bishops Judges of all, will not allow them to be judged of any, have a very hard Task upon their hands; for it is certain, that the Lewdness and Extravagancies of Pope *Benedict* the Ninth growing insupportable, he was deposed in the Year 1044. And *Silvester* by one Party, and *Gregory* the Sixth by another, were put into his Chair; so that they who agreed in deposing *Benedict* the Ninth, could not agree in a Successor. In the mean time *Benedict* despised both Parties, and notwithstanding his deposition still kept up his Title of Pope, and his Claim to the Papacy; so that when the Emperor *Henry* came into *Italy* in the Year 1046, he found no less than three Popes, all which held their Seats in *Rome*; *Silvester* at *St. Peter's*, *Benedict* at *St. Mary's*, and *Gregory* in the *Lateran* (a).

And notwithstanding the Heats this Schism occasion'd, the Popes came to an Agreement amongst themselves, and divided the Revenues of the Papacy; and in this Agreement the Profits arising out of *England* were allotted to the share of *Benedict* (b), an allotment which gave occasion to *Mr. Cressy* to reflect with pleasure on the Munificence of the *English* Nation to the Papacy, tho' at the same time he treats *Benedict*, to whom it was assigned, as a Schismatick.

However this was, the Emperor finding things in this posture, took the quickest and only way to set them right, and in a Council he assembled at *Sutrium* near *Rome*, deposed all the three Popes, and set up *Suidiger*, Bishop of *Bamburgh*, in their stead (c), who took to himself the Title of *Clement* the Second; but no sooner was the Emperor gone from *Rome*, but *Benedict* resumed his Title, and by his Interest forced *Clement* to leave *Italy*; and *Clement* dying the Year following, *Benedict* got again into the Papal Chair (d), but the Imperial Interest put *Damasus* in the room of *Clement*; and on his Death Pope *Leo* the Ninth, who lived to the Year 1054, but dying then, *Benedict*, who was yet living, did again attempt to resume the Chair; and it is probable was possessed thereof from the Death of *Clement*, in the beginning of the Year 1054, till the beginning of the following Year, when the Emperor coming himself to

(a) Baron.

Annal. An. (3)
1044. N. 2.(b) Ibid.
N. 5.

(c) Baron.

Annal. An.
1046. N. 2. 4. 5.

(d) Baron.

Annal. An.
1047. N. 17.

Rome, put *Victor* into the Chair ; and *Stigand* being advanced to the See of *Canterbury* in the Year 1052, it seems much more likely that he received his Pall from that *Benedict* the Ninth, either before or during the Interval betwixt the Death of *Leo* the Ninth, and *Victor* the Second, than from *Benedict* the Tenth.

(a) Baron.
Annal. An.
1054. N. 7.

(b) Ibid.
N. 36.

S E C T. XVI. I have not said this to reproach the Church of *Rome* with those heavy Judgments G O D thought fit to inflict upon it, in suffering it to fall under the Conduct of such wretched Miscreants, as it may be no History in the World can produce ; nor to shame the Vanity of those who at once boast of Unity, and yet cannot but say, in the words of Pope *Leo* the Ninth, that that Church had long been possessed by Mercenaries, not by true Pastors (a) ; and as their Historians do, that for a whole Age that Church continued in the most distracted, divided, and miserable condition that was possible (b). But I have lead the Reader into this digression, to shew how trifling and vain the Clamours against Archbishop *Stigand* are, when it thus appears, that in the particular he is accused of, he stands justified by the practice of the greatest part of the Western Church, and can with no pretence be condemned by those who will not allow the Right of the Emperor to put in or displace the Bishops of *Rome*.

Anno
1058.

But after all the noise which has been made upon this subject, it seems very probable that *Stigand* never had any Pall, either from Pope *Benedict* or any body else, but, as occasion served, he made use of the Pall sent to his Predecessor *Robert*, and which he left behind when he fled into *Normandy* ; and the great Profit the Bishops of *Rome* had by this time learnt to make of the Pall, and the covetous Temper of *Stigand* considered, there is more than a little probability in it.

Nor is this conjecture only, for in the Profession of *Remigius*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, who had been consecrated by Archbishop *Stigand* ; and, upon his Deposition, was obliged to make a new Profession of Canonical Obedience to his Successor *Lanfrank* ; in which Profession the reason of *Stigand*'s Deposition is said to be because that Prelate had invaded the See of *Canterbury*, and made use of his Predecessor's Pall ; and though he had been warned thereof, and frequently cited to *Rome*,
and

and at last condemned and excommunicated ; yet for nineteen Years he continued in his obstinacy, and despised the Prohibitions forbidding any one to receive Orders from him, although such Prohibitions had been sent to him by the Legates of *Leo*, *Victor*, *Stephen*, *Nicolas*, and *Alexander*, successively Bishops of *Rome*, notwithstanding these which are said to be the reasons of his deposition after the Conquest, it is very evident that *Stigand* discharged all the Functions of a Metropolitan, and was not only owned as rightful Archbishop of *Canterbury* during the *English* Government, but in the beginning of the *Norman* Reign ; and as such consecrated the Bishop of *Lincoln* after the Conquest ; so that whatever is said about his owning a Schismatical Pope, and taking his Pall from him, as the reasons of his deposition, I doubt not but another, and that the true reason of his deposition will appear, when the due order of Time calls me to consider it ; and that what is said of his being deposed, for receiving his Pall from a Schismatical Pope, and contemning the Authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, is nothing else but trifling or corrupting our History to serve the Interests of that Papacy.

SECT. XVII. In the mean time, those who have taken so much pains to possess the World with the belief, that the 'foresaid Instances of *Stigand*'s contempt of the Papal Power, were the occasion of his deposition, would have served the same Cause to much better purpose, had they thought fit to let us know how it came to pass, that the whole Church of *England*, for nineteen Years together ; and this for the most part during the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, a favourer of the See of *Rome*, should, notwithstanding all that is said above, own *Stigand* as the Canonical and Rightful Primate of *England*, and join in all Acts of Communion with him ; for a practice of this kind does so shock all the Pretensions of those who assert the indispensable necessity of uniting and living in Communion with the

Bishop

Post paucos Annos Robertum Archiepiscopum partim vi, partim insidiis expulit, Metropolitim invasit ; pallium quod ipse à sede Apostolica detulerat cum ceteris, ablatum usurpare non metuit, quâ temeritate Romæ auditâ à Romanis Pontificibus sæpe vocatus tandem damnatus, & excommunicatus est. Ipse tamen XIX. Annis in sui cordis obstinatione permansit : quo tanti temporis intervallo præfata Romana Ecclesiæ Pontifices Leo, Victor, Stephanus, Nicolaus, Alexander legatos suos, suis quisque temporibus in Anglicam terram transmiserunt, & ne aliquis ad eum ordinandus accederet Apostolicâ autoritate prohibuerunt. Professio Remigii Ms. Cotton. Cleopatra. E. 1.

• Bishop of *Rome*, that it will not be an easy Matter to perswade the World, that the Church of *England* was at this time acquainted with any such Doctrine; and an accident which happened not long after, would rather confirm this Opinion, than give one reason to alter it.

Anno 1060. For *Kinsius*, Archbishop of *York*, dying about this time, *Aldred*, Bishop of *Worcester*, was, by King *Edward*, appointed to succeed him, with a Power of retaining the Bishoprick of *Worcester*, which he was before possessed of; but going to *Rome* to receive his Pall, it is said that upon enquiring of Pope *Nicolas*, he appeared to be guilty of Simony, and therefore the Pope refused to grant him a Pall; and that the said Prelate returning homeward was met with by the *Banditti*, and himself and Company stripped of all they had. This, saith *Malmsbury*, occasioned their return to *Rome*: And this Misfortune, added to the denial which he had before received, so sowed this Prelate and his Company, that *Fosti*, Earl of *Northumberland*, who was with him there, and had unsuccessfully solicited in his Favour with great freedom, shewed his Resentment in

Anno 1061. such terms as makes it probable, that he sustained the Character of a publick Minister of the King of *England*; and therefore demanded satisfaction of the Bishop of *Rome*, for the loss he had sustained, and told him freely, that except that was done, and a Pall granted to the new Archbishop, he might expect that the King of *England* would do himself Right, by withdrawing of *Peter-Pence*, usually paid to the Holy See: By this rough Address the Court of *Rome* was at last overcome, and the new Archbishop returned with his

Anno 1062. Pall.

This *Aldred* was Bishop of *Worcester*, when nominated to the See of *York*, and designed to follow the irregular steps of some of his Predecessors, who held the Bishopricks of *York* and *Worcester* together; and if this, as some have thought, was the reason of that difficulty he met with in obtaining his Pall, the stiffness of Pope *Alexander* seems no other way blamable, than in suffering it self at last to be overcome, in favour of a practice that deserved a treatment of a harsher kind:

But

but whether it was this difficulty that awakened the Conscience of that Prelate, or the pleasure of the King which brought him to a better Mind; so it was that about this time he gave up his Bishoprick of *Worcester*, and *Wulstan*, bred a Monk of *Peterborough*, and afterward Prior of *Worcester*, succeeded in that See not long after the return of *Aldred* from *Rome*.

Anno
1062.

Amongst those formidable Factions which could not but give great uneasiness to the gentle, peaceful Temper of King *Edward*, and entertain him with very melancholy Prospects, this Prince is said to have put himself under a Vow to go to *Rome* to pay his Devotions; but his Council not having the same Sentiments of that sort of Devotion, and foreseeing the ill consequences of such a Journey, whilst the Factions of State were grown to such strength and maturity, that they were scarce capable of bounds, they perswaded the King from an undertaking attended with such visible dangers; and, according to the way of the Age, he was prevail'd upon, if credit may be given to the Monks, to commute for the breach of his Vow, by building a Monastery to the Honour and Memory of *St. Peter*; and therefore some Years before his Death he began the building of *St. Peter's* at *Westminster*.

But before that munificent Structure could be finished, Age and Infirmities grew so fast upon him, that without that prophetick Spirit some have ascribed to him, he could not but be sensible of an approaching change; and this consideration lent new vigour to his Zeal, and hastened on the Consecration of that Church; and to make that more splendid and solemn, he determined to have that Office performed at the meeting of the great Council, which was convened, according to Custom, to meet at *Christmas* this Year; but before this Assembly broke up, the King died, the fifth of *January*, in the beginning of the Year 1066.

Anno
1065.

King Edward
dies.

This Prince being dead, the Parties which had before given so much trouble to his Reign, now appeared uncontrolled, and the Designs were avowed, which had hitherto been acted in the dark: The Prospect was dismal and affrighting, and the Changes much greater than were apprehended; and it was not a little part

Anno
1066.

G g g g g

which

which the Church bore in the Revolution, which not long after ensued; but before I enter upon the Story that followed the *Norman* Revolution, I shall stop a while to relieve my self and the Reader, and to beg of GOD, who has led me through a difficult and laborious Work, that he would give his Blessing to it, and make it what I have intended it, a useful and instructive Labour.

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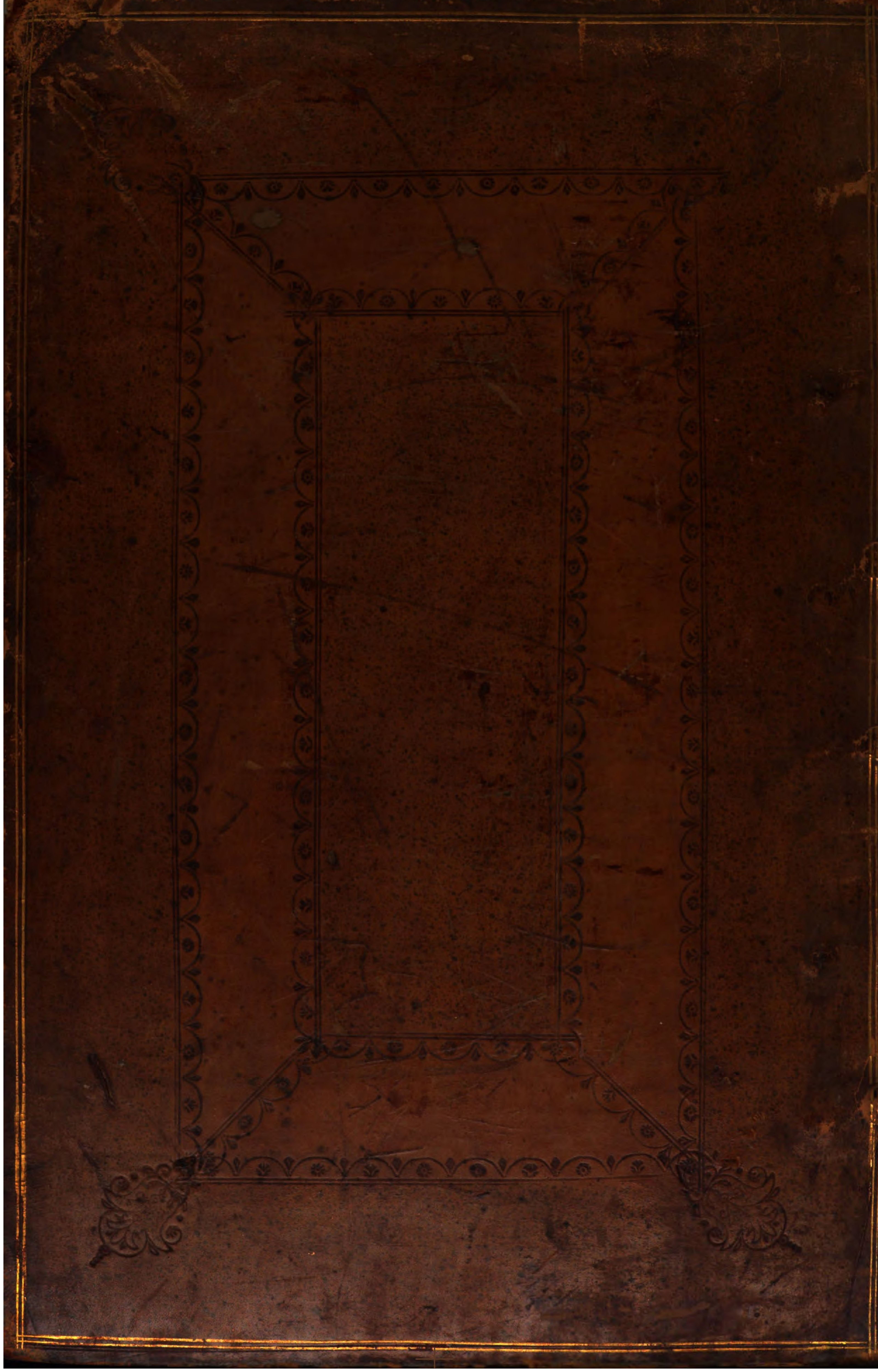
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